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# The Role of Turnus in the Aeneid

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THE ROLE OF TURNUS IN THE AENEID

*When speaking of  
Turnus I quote*

by

Henry A. Gardocki, S.J.

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

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## LIFE

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## INTRODUCTION

Students of the Aeneid come away with various impressions regarding Turnus. Some regard him as a mere foil to Aeneas.<sup>1</sup> Others find fault with him on various counts. For example, they say that he is selfish, caring not for his country's welfare, but fighting Aeneas out of self interest.<sup>2</sup> There are others who condemn him as a barbarian because of his violence.<sup>3</sup> The slaying of Pallas by Turnus is singled out for condemnation.<sup>4</sup> Other incidents could be enumerated but these are some of the main objections that are brought against him.

These opinions regarding Turnus are unfavorable, but there are students of the Aeneid who have expressed themselves in a more favorable way regarding his qualities. Some of them con-

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1 T.R.Glover, Virgil, Fifth Ed., London, 1923, 229.  
See also, James Henry, Aeneidea, Dublin, 1889, 129.

2 Glover, Virgil, 229; Henry W.Prescott, The Development of Virgil's Art, Chicago, 1927, 476.

3 Charles Knapp, "Note on Aeneid VII", C.W., XXI, January, 1928, 90-91.

4 Knapp, "Note on Aeneid VII", C.W., XXI, 91.

sider Turnus as embodying the qualities which made Rome great once they were tempered by the Roman discipline represented by Aeneas. Such qualities are especially the martial spirit and the Itala Virtus. Even the war Turnus wages against the Trojans is considered to be not unworthy, whether on patriotic grounds or on grounds personal to himself.<sup>5</sup> With regard to the violence of Turnus which others find so reprehensible, some would consider it an unavoidable counterpart of the quality that gives Turnus so much of his strength, namely his pride and sense of personal worth.<sup>6</sup>

As can be seen, the general views of many Virgilian commentators regarding Turnus come to two schools of thought about him. The basic question involved in these views concerns the role of Turnus in the Aeneid. And since his position in the last six books is a dominant one the role he has there will greatly effect the understanding of the Aeneid itself. It is for this reason, therefore, to establish a better understanding of the role of Turnus in the Aeneid, that this thesis is undertaken.

In Chapter I we will look into the historical writers of Rome to find out what mention they make of Turnus as a histor-

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5 W.Y.Sellar, The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1897, 204.

6 C.M.Bowra, From Virgil to Milton, London, 1945, 47.

ical figure. Since Virgil was writing an epic of Rome he would quite naturally embody all the historical past that in any remarkable way contributed to the foundation of Rome. The question, did Virgil find such a figure given by the historians, or was Turnus totally fictional will be answered in the first chapter.

In order to essay a conclusion as to the role of Turnus in the Aeneid it will be necessary first of all to investigate with what qualities of character and personality Virgil endowed Turnus and what use Turnus made of his endowments. This investigation will be made in Chapters II and III. It is important that the qualities be considered by objective norms prescinding from Virgil's intention in giving him these qualities. The qualities to be considered are his noble ancestry, physical beauty, prowess and fearlessness, and his patriotism; they are to be considered in his words and actions, by analysis of Virgil's descriptive technique, and from the estimation of others in reference to Turnus.

In the fourth chapter a consideration of Turnus' relation with characters other than Aeneas will be made. The characters will include Latinus, Amata, Mezentius, and Lavinia. The study of Turnus in relation to these will reveal certain other aspects of the same qualities already considered in Chapters II and III. The study will also reveal some elements of knowledge about Turnus not treated under any particular character trait.



The fifth chapter will consider the relation of Turnus to Aeneas. There will be three important divisions of this chapter. The first will deal with the basic motive for Turnus' opposition to Aeneas. The second division will deal with the reaction of Turnus to the Fated-home in Latium for Aeneas. In the third division we will consider what Pallas contributed to the relationship between Turnus and Aeneas.

The last chapter will treat the role of Turnus in the Aeneid considered from an artistic viewpoint. The data of the previous five chapters will be analyzed in the light of Virgil's ultimate purpose for the whole Aeneid, to see what Turnus was intended to contribute to that purpose. Virgil, we will see, had a twofold aim for the total poem, one personal and one national. The national aim was to have the Aeneid serve Rome's needs and help Augustus restore the ancient ideals of patriotism, morality, and piety.<sup>7</sup> His personal aim was to achieve in the Aeneid a work of art rivaling the best that Italy had yet produced and even comparable to Homer's works.<sup>8</sup> The task was not an easy one and much of its success depended on how Virgil handled the last six books. Therefore, an understanding of the role of Turnus in the epic will contribute no small share to our better understanding and appre-

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7 Sellar, 83, 310. Also, Prescott, 151.

8 Sellar, 67, 310, 297-298. Also, Prescott, 151-153, 431-462; E.K.Rand, The Magical Art of Virgil, Cambridge, 1931, 374

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ciation of the Aeneid.

## CHAPTER I

### TURNUS IN PRE-ROMAN HISTORY

Along with Aeneas, Turnus dominates the last six books of the Aeneid. He is an important character, therefore, contributing a necessary part to the total content and purpose of the Epic. Just what that purpose is will be more clearly seen when this investigation is more nearly complete. For the present chapter we shall attempt to investigate the following basic considerations regarding Turnus. Since he is such a major character and seems to be connected in some way with the native elements of Italy in the Aeneid, did Virgil have any historical basis for Turnus? If there was not an historical basis, then was there at least a traditional basis from which Virgil drew? If there is no evidence for either, should we conclude that Turnus was a purely fictional character created by Virgil?

For the purpose of this investigation we will consult the extant works of annalists and historians of the period of Roman beginnings. Unfortunately, as is known, many of the original works do not exist as independent writings. Their content is available only in the authors who quoted them at a later date. For our needs however, they are sufficiently historical.

The Origines of Cato has one of the earliest references to Turnus. Since Cato's works are not available to me I shall quote the reference to this passage as given by Servius in his commentary on the Aeneid.

Nam si veritatem historiae requiras, primo proelio interemptus Latinus est in arce. Inde, ubi Turnus Aeneam vidit superiorem, Mezentii imploravit auxilium. Secundo proelio Turnus occisus est, et nihilominus Aeneas postea non comparuit. Tertio proelio Mezentium occidit Ascanius. Hoc Livius dicit, et Cato in Originibus.<sup>1</sup>

From the fact that Servius ends the statement by saying that "hoc Livius dicit, et Cato in Originibus," the conclusion might be made that Livy depended on Cato for his own account when writing of early Roman history. For that reason I shall now give Livy's version.

Landing there, the Trojans, as men who, after their all but immeasurable wanderings, had nothing left but their swords and ships, were driving booty from the fields, when King Latinus and the Aborigines, who then occupied that country, rushed down from their city and their fields to repel with arms the violence of the invaders. From this point the tradition follows two lines. Some say that Latinus, having been defeated in the battle, made peace with Aeneas, and later an alliance of marriage. Others maintain that when the opposing lines had been drawn up, Latinus did not wait for the charge to sound, but advanced amidst his chieftains and summoned the captain of the strangers to a parley. He then inquired what men they were, whence they had come, what hardships had caused them to leave their home...The commanders then made a treaty, and the armies saluted each other. Aeneas became a guest in the house of Latinus, there the latter in the pre-

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1 Servius, ad Aen., ix, 745. This citation is from the footnote in an article by S.E. Stout, "How Vergil Established for Aeneas a Legal Claim to a Home and a Throne in Italy", C.J., XX, December, 1924, 153.

but both he and Latinus died in the battle.<sup>3</sup>

Two later historians, Appian and Dio, furnish some further references to the name and tradition of Turnus. Since these historians are about a century later than Virgil, and therefore may have based their accounts on his Aeneid as much as on earlier more purely historical references, they are not as valuable in this case as Cato or even Livy and Dionysius. But the fact that the tradition of this account of Turnus is still set down in serious historical works a century after the composition of Livy's history and Virgil's Aeneid recommends itself as significant. Appian, who lived from about 95 A.D. to about 165 A.D. gives a brief account of the meeting of Aeneas with Turnus, without, however naming Turnus but referring to him only as the king of the Rutuli, as is seen in the following:

Appian begins his history with Aeneas, the son of Anchises, the son of Capys, who flourished in the Trojan war. After the capture of Troy he fled, and after long wandering arrived at a part of the Italian coast called Laurentum, where his camping place is shown to this day, and the shore is called, after him, the Trojan beach. The Aborigines of this part of Italy were then ruled by Faunus, the son of Mars, who gave to Aeneas his daughter Lavinia in marriage, and also a tract of land four stades in circuit. Here Aeneas built a town, which he named after his wife Lavinium. Three years later still Aeneas was killed by the Rutuli, a Tuscan tribe, in a war begun on account of his wife Lavinia, who had been previously betrothed to their king.<sup>4</sup>

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3 Appian, Antiquitates, I.64.

4. Appian's Roman History i.1. Translated by Horace White, Loeb Classical Library, New York, 1912, I, 29.

Dio, the second of this group of historians, who lived somewhat later, gives his account concerning Turnus:

But the Rutuli, who occupied adjoining territory, had been previously hostile to the Latins, and now, setting out from the city of Ardea, they made war upon them. They had the support of Turnus, a distinguished man and a relative of Latinus, who had become angry with the latter because of Lavinia's marriage, for it was to him that the maiden had originally been promised. A battle took place, Turnus and Latinus both fell, and Aeneas gained the victory and his father-in-law's kingdom as well. After a time, however, the Rutuli secured the Etruscans as allies and marched against Aeneas; and in this war they won. But Aeneas vanished from sight, being seen no more alive or dead, and he was honored as a god among the Latins. Hence he was regarded by the Romans also as the founder of their race and they take pride in being called "Sons of Aeneas".<sup>5</sup>

It is to be noted that the accounts given about Aeneas' landing in Latium and his meeting with Turnus agree in general on certain points though there is a little difference in minor details. Thus, all the accounts might be summarized in the following way by giving the essential points of agreement of all: When Aeneas landed in Latium, he fortified a camp on the bank of the Tiber, which he called Troia. The Trojans were kindly received by King Latinus, who assigned them land for a city and gave his daughter Lavinia to Aeneas in marriage. Then Aeneas and Latinus were attacked by Turnus the king of the Rutuli, to whom the hand of Lavinia had earlier been promised. There was support in this attack from Mesentius, king of the Etruscan city of Agylia. Some

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5 Dio's Roman History 1.Zonaras 7.1. Translated by Earnest Cary, Loeb Classical Library, New York, 1914, I, 7-9.

of the Latins became alienated from Aeneas because his followers plundered their fields, and, going over to Turnus, they joined in the attack on the Trojans. Latinus was killed in the first battle, but Turnus escaped to Mezentius. With the support of Mezentius he attacked again, and in the second battle Turnus was killed and Aeneas disappeared, the supposition being that he was taken to heaven as Romulus was at a later date. In a war that followed between Ascanius and Mezentius rebellious Latins gave their support to the Trojans because they feared the tyranny of Mezentius if he should win. In this third battle Mezentius was killed by Ascanius.<sup>6</sup>

A further point should be noted about the former citations. They all mention Turnus in connection with the landing of Aeneas in Latium. Therefore, they furnish the answer to the question of whether Turnus was a purely fictional character or whether he had some previous existence, be it historical or only traditional.<sup>7</sup> The historicity of Turnus' existence in Italy is

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<sup>6</sup> This summary is paralleled with a similar summary given by Stout, "How Virgil Established for Aeneas a Legal Claim to a Home and a Throne in Italy," C.J., XI, 152.

<sup>7</sup> See Leon Homo, Primitive Italy, New York, 1926, 1-22 for a good account of the reliability to be placed in the account of Roman history prior to the invasion of Rome by the Gauls in 390 B.C.

not crucial to our problem. The important fact is that he is mentioned by early historians and also by later historians who in turn depended for their account on earlier writers, indicating that there was a solid tradition concerning Turnus. It was this tradition that Virgil, therefore, knowingly followed when he incorporated Turnus in his epic of Rome.

Although Virgil clearly had a clue in early Roman history and traditions concerning the existence of Turnus as a Rutulian king who opposed Aeneas because of his own love for Lavinia his promised bride, he did not have much more than these few traditional items about Turnus. Thus, when Virgil began to attribute qualities and actions to Turnus in the Aeneid he was left quite free to make Turnus into the kind of character he desired for the purpose of his story. It is in this precise area that the art and aim of Virgil will be studied as we proceed to inquire into what kind of character Virgil molded Turnus. We will notice, too, that Virgil has deviated from the traditional accounts concerning Turnus. One important point was in the time and kind of death Turnus met. The reason for this will be seen in another chapter. The freedom which Virgil enjoyed to give Turnus the qualities that he gave him, to place him in the circumstances that he did, and to perform the actions that he performed in the Aeneid had, therefore, to be directed ultimately by Virgil's own artistic purpose in portraying just such a character.



When these considerations are finally dealt with in the following chapters it will be easier to see what was the role of Turnus in the Aeneid.

## CHAPTER II

### TURNUS' HEROIC QUALITIES

The purpose of Chapters II and III is to make a study of certain qualities of personality and character with which Virgil has endowed Turnus as he appears in the Aeneid. The object of this analysis will be to isolate Turnus as an individual with his personal endowments, noticing to some extent how he uses his abilities, in order to see what kind of portrait Virgil has given us in Turnus. The study will be based on certain objective norms which will guide the conduct of the analysis. The norms are the ones laid down by Aristotle for good character portraiture.<sup>1</sup>

The method of this and the following chapter will be to

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<sup>1</sup> See Raymond V. Schoder, S.J., The Classical Canons of Literary Character Portrayal, Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri, 1943, for a good summary of the position of Aristotle concerning the norms for the apt portrayal of character. The same norms can a pari be used for the analysis of character already portrayed. It is not my intention to conduct an analysis of Turnus' character with explicit reference to each one of Aristotle's canons--that is not the purpose of the thesis--but an implicit reference, in so far as the canons will be used as a norm, will be in evidence. The canons referred to can be summarized: a. Moral nobility, b. Fidelity to type, c. Fidelity to tradition, d. Internal consistency, e. Plausibility, f. Emotional representation, 41-62.

study the character and personality of Turnus in all the instances where the topic under consideration at the moment is given scope in the Aeneid. For example, the first topic will be Turnus' noble parentage. The sections in the Aeneid where this subject appears will be set down and treated. In the same way, a study will be made of other topics relating to Turnus.

The choice of these topics was made according to the headings which seem best suited to give us an orderly and complete study of Turnus. They are: his noble ancestry, physical beauty, prowess and fearlessness, and patriotism. The ultimate aim of this study is to give as objective a picture as possible of the qualities of personality and character with which Virgil has endowed Turnus in the Aeneid through the words and actions of Turnus himself, by analysis of Virgil's descriptive technique, and a consideration of other characters in reference to Turnus. We will prescind here from any reference to Virgil's intention concerning the traits he has given Turnus. The intentions of Virgil in this matter will be dealt with in the last chapter where the final question of the role of Turnus in the Aeneid will be treated in the light of this and the following chapters.

#### Noble Ancestry of Turnus

As was shown in the first chapter, the historians of early Italy presented Turnus as king of the Rutuli. They did not, however, go into any explanation of his origin. In the Aeneid

Virgil keeps Turnus as king of the Rutuli but goes even further in the embellishment of his royal stature by giving him a distinguished ancestry. Thus, early in the seventh book Turnus is introduced as "Turnus, avis atavisque potens."<sup>2</sup> A more detailed meaning of his ancestry is given later when Amata says, "...et Turno, si prima domus repetatur origo, Inachus Acrisiusque patres mediaeque Mycenae."<sup>3</sup> By giving Inachus and Acrisius to Turnus as his ancestors Virgil has given him a kinship with the gods and kings of the Greek world itself. For, "Inachus was the most ancient king of Argos, properly the god of the river Argos, son of Oceanus and Tethys, the father of Phoroneus and Io."<sup>4</sup> Acrisius too was "king of Argos, greatgrandson of Danaus, son of Abas and brother of Proetus."<sup>5</sup> Turnus is also more directly related to Amata the queen, for he is the son of her sister the nymph Venilia. His grandfather is the deity Pilumnus. So Juno informs us: "cui Pilumnus avus, cui diva Venilia mater."<sup>6</sup>

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2 Virgil, Aeneid vii, 55. The quotations into English will be taken from the translations of Virgil's works by J.W. Machail, Virgil's Works, The Modern Library, New York, 1934.

3 Ibid., 371-372. [i.e., vii]

4 Henry Nettleship, Classical Antiquities, London, 1891, 318.

5 Ibid., 4.

6 Aeneid x, 76.

### Physical Beauty

Besides nobility of birth and position Turnus has qualities of physical beauty which make him outstanding among his fellows. Virgil, in fact, introduces him to us in the early part of book seven on this note of beauty: "...ante alios pulcherrimus omnis Turnus."<sup>7</sup> This is the first mention of Turnus and so it would seem to be significant that Virgil has presented him as pulcherrimus at the start. Another allusion to the beauty of Turnus is made in the following: "Ipse inter primos praestanti corpore Turnus vertitur arma tenens et toto vertice supra est."<sup>8</sup> The carefully chosen words praestanti corpore and toto vertice supra est, give a vivid picture of the great stature and physical beauty of Turnus. It is quite interesting in conjunction with this to note that as Turnus is first mentioned by name in book seven he is pulcherrimus ante omnis alios and that the last mention of him in book seven is in the same vein.

What others think of Turnus, or what qualities of his influence them is shown in the following instances:

When he [Turnus] uttered these words and called the gods to hear his vows, the Rutulians stir one another up to arms. One the splendour of his youthful beauty, one his royal ancestry fires, another the noble deeds of his hand.<sup>9</sup>

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7 Ibid., vii, 55.

8 Ibid., vii, 783-784.

9 Ibid., vii, 471-474.

Another instance can be cited: "By him is Lausus, his [i.e. Mesentius] son, unexcelled in bodily beauty by any save Laurentine Turnus."<sup>10</sup> Turnus is here contrasted as even more highly favored with beauty than the very handsome Lausus.

### Prowess and Fearlessness of Turnus

Prowess may be defined as a quality that manifests strength, skill, and courage in battle. Fearlessness is a quality that enables the possessor to face impending evil or pain without desiring to escape it. From these definitions it is clear that the qualities of prowess and fearlessness along with the other traits they imply are the marks of a great warrior. They are the marks of a great man as well, if not vitiated by other weaknesses of character.

That Virgil makes Turnus an outstanding warrior is clear on the first reading of the last six books of the Aeneid. He has given Turnus the leadership of the Rutulians and the other forces that oppose Aeneas. Turnus engages in most of the battles against the enemy, always with distinction to himself. Virgil depicts his prowess time and again by numbering the many heroes Turnus slays with his own hand. There is constant reference to his tremendous strength. The vivid language of metaphor is used in numerous instances, impressing the imagination of the reader

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10 Ibid., vii, 649-650.

in a more striking way with the prowess and fearlessness of the Rutulian king. A typically stirring picture of his fearlessness is portrayed in this scene:

Turnus, who had flown forward in advance of his tardy column, comes up suddenly to the town with a train of twenty chosen cavalry, borne on a Thracian horse dappled with white, and covered by a golden helmet with scarlet plume. 'Who will be with me, my men, to be the first on the foe? See!' he cries; and sends a javelin spinning into the air to open battle, and advances towering on the plain.<sup>11</sup>

Turnus wants to be the first to join in the combat! His fearless approach to danger is combined with a certain eagerness, as volans ante tardum armen indicates.

But lest we think that there may be more rashness than valor in the lines just quoted let us note the next move of Turnus. As we saw earlier, prowess implies skill in battle. Turnus also manifests the prowess of a great warrior:

...Hither and thither he rides furiously, tracing the walls, and seeking entrance where way is none.

.....  
By what means may he essay entrance? by what passage  
hurl the imprisoned Trojans from the rampart and fling  
them on the plain?<sup>12</sup>

Turnus will not attempt a rash storming of the walls of the Trojan fortification. He seeks to find a way to make the enemy fight on equal terms, by what passage hurl the Trojans from the

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid., ix, 47-53.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., ix, 57-58, 67-68.

rampart and fling them on the plain! The Trojan fleet moored nearby is the answer to Turnus' strategy for bringing the Trojans into the open. Burn the ships and then enemy will be forced from their fortification! "...classem invadit sociosque incendia poscit."<sup>13</sup> This might have been a brilliant move had not divine powers intervened. The fleet was turned into sea-nymphs, as Jove had promised the Berecynthian mother of the gods they would be, when the time was ripe. Along with this strange prodigy a voice broke out, heard by both armies, telling the Trojans not to defend their ships. This portent is so strange a spectacle that the Rutulians are terrified. Messapus himself, one of the foremost warriors of Turnus, is terror-stricken.<sup>14</sup> What looked like certain victory was suddenly about to turn into defeat. However, Turnus in his fearless spirit was quick to change what might have been a fatal blow into a motive for daring!

But bold Turnus fails not a whit in confidence: nay, he raises their courage with words, nay, he chides them: 'On the Trojans are these portents aimed; Jupiter himself has bereft them of their wonted succour; nor do they abide Rutulian spear and fire. So are the seas pathless for the Teucrians, nor is there any hope in flight; they have lost half their world. And we hold the land: in all their thousands the nations of Italy are under arms. In no wise am I dismayed by those divine oracles of doom that the Phrygians insolently advance. Fate and Venus are satisfied, in that the Trojans have touched our fruitful Ausonian fields<sup>15</sup>

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13 Ibid., ix, 69.

14 Ibid., ix, 75-125.

15 Ibid., ix, 128-136.



From this instance we see how resourceful Turnus is in a crisis. His resourcefulness will be noted again in other instances. His ability to waylay the fears of his superstitious followers is here noted. The appealing argument that the debt to Fate and Venus had been paid when the Trojans landed on Ausonia is his best appeal to his men. He knows that the oracles and prophecies concerning the Trojans and their hopes in Italy are strong forces against himself so he must convince his men that the Fates have been satisfied. This is necessary because their morale would be weak in the face of the inevitableness that the fulfilment of the Fates' desires supposes.

Having thus recovered the confidence of his followers by this convincing argument Turnus adds a further reason to bolster their conviction in the righteousness of their own cause. He says: "I too have my destiny against theirs, to put utterly to the sword the guilty nation who has robbed me of my bride."<sup>16</sup> Then he makes a reference to the Trojan war, its cause and its consequences. He further builds up their courage and daring by an appeal to their noble instincts as warriors. He says that he and his warriors will not fight the Trojans this time from the hidden belly of the wooden horse in stealth, but in broad day they will meet the foe.<sup>17</sup>

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16 Ibid., ix, 136-138.

17 Ibid., ix, 139-158.

Turnus, in this critical situation, has shown not only a fearlessness great in its proportions but other qualities of high leadership. The most outstanding one is his keen understanding of the psychology of his men. He is clearly aware of their mental state and is quick and able to cope with it at the proper moment. He has succeeded in a moral victory greater than a mere military accomplishment; he has welded his army closer to himself in the cause he fights for. Such is the great accomplishment Virgil attributes to Turnus at the very outset of his campaign.

It is interesting to note, too, that for the second time in book nine Virgil has used the adjective audax in reference to Turnus. The first time was in line two and here again in line one hundred twenty six. Mackail translated the first usage as gallant while he rendered the second as bold. Such appellations by Virgil himself reflect his own estimate of Turnus at this time.

More instances of Turnus' prowess and fearlessness are evidenced as he rouses his Rutulians to war on the next day of battle. He stirs their passions with various stories, very likely stories of valor which they will seek to emulate, perhaps also stories of Trojan treachery, all of which causes them to yearn for the fight: "Turnus, himself fully armed, awakes his men to arms, and each leader marshals to battle his brazen lines and

whets their anger with varying rumours."<sup>18</sup> We see that Turnus is ever a keen psychologist; he knows how to appeal to the fighting instincts of his men. This is very important in a successful military leader.

There is one event, very early in the day's fighting, that is not very complimentary to Turnus. The Rutulians parade the heads of the two youths, Nisus and Euryalus, held up on spears before the camp of the Latins. It is an act of revenge and a sign of victory. True, the boys had slaughtered many of the Rutulians in their night raid but the sight of their decapitated young bodies is nevertheless ghastly.<sup>19</sup> Whether Turnus had anything personally to do with the affair is not clear, but he must have known about it and so tolerated the deed. If so, it reflects a crude even ruthless strain in his nature. Moreover, a leader is certainly in some degree responsible for the doings of his followers.

It is interesting to watch Turnus as he fights. He seems to fight with an abandon and zest that only a man of indomitable energy, great confidence in himself, and utter fearlessness towards death is capable of. C.M. Bowra alludes to this

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18 Ibid., ix, 462-464.

19 Ibid., ix, 465-473.

when he says:

Like Achilles, he [Turnus] lives for honour and for renown, especially in war. When he hears that the stranger has landed in Latium and is destined to take his affianced bride from him, his immediate impulse is to fight for his rights and his honour. Feeling that his pride has been insulted, he turns furiously to his weapons... Virgil takes pains to make Turnus live up to the old heroic standards and shows how in the best traditions of his type he rallies his troops, attacks the Trojan camp, deals deadly blows to all who come in his way, and fights with heroic courage in his last encounter against hopeless odds. He is a true hero by Homeric standards and finds in battle proper scope for his great gifts.<sup>20</sup>

Virgil himself brings this fact before us as he invokes the Muse to give him special inspiration as he sings about the many heroes Turnus sends to death:

Thy sisterhood, O Calliope, I pray inspire me while I sing the destruction spread then and there by Turnus' sword, the deaths dealt from his hand, and whom each warrior sent down to the under world; and unroll with me the broad borders of war.<sup>21</sup>

The enumeration of the fallen heroes that ensues reads like a catalog of the dead for the fall of Troy. Turnus' first victim is unlucky Lycus who escaped from a burning tower. He is snatched by Turnus as he attempts to scale the walls of the camp.

There is a note of gloating in his voice as Turnus addresses him, "Didst thou hope, madman, thou mightest escape our Hands?"<sup>22</sup> So saying he pulls him from the wall. After Lycus come Caeneus,

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20 C.M. Bowra, From Virgil to Milton, 44.

21 Aeneid ix, 525-528.

22 Ibid., ix, 560.

Itys, Elonius, Dioxippus, Promolus, Sagaris and Idas; all fall victims to mighty Turnus outside the camp. Later the gates are opened and Turnus gets inside the encampment. The slaughter he deals out inside is frightful to mention. Antiphates is his first victim, then Merope, Erymas, Aphidus, Bitias, Pandarus, Phaleris, Gyges, Halys, Phegeus, Alcander, Halius, Noemon, Prytanis, Lynceus, Amycus, Clytius, and finally Cretheus. What point had Virgil in giving such staggering numbers for slaughter at Turnus' hand? It would seem that his reason is in keeping with Homeric tradition where the hero sows death wherever he fights. Achilles, Hector, Ajax, Odysseus, are credited with having killed hosts of Trojan heroes when they fought. Certain it is that daring, strength, fighting ability, speed, agility, fearlessness, and such like qualities are needed by one capable of like accomplishments. Virgil evidently wants Turnus to be given credit for the martial qualities just mentioned, together with the traits of character that would accompany the martial qualities. If not, Virgil would have made it clear that he disapproved of Turnus' deeds or considered him a barbarian. The account must be taken in the light of similar situations in the Iliad, for example, if we are to understand Turnus as Virgil intends.

Even in the midst of battle Turnus seems capable of a certain amount of repartee. As he drives the Trojans down the camp Pandarus, enraged by his brother's death, dares to face Tur-

nus. Before he strikes, however, he must give vent to a taunt: "This is not the palace of Amata's dower," he cries, "nor does Ardea enclose Turnus in her native walls. Thou seest a hostile camp; escape hence is hopeless."<sup>23</sup> Turnus takes the reproach from the brave defender in complete good-natured humor, apparently, for Virgil says he smiled, "olii subridens sedato pectore Turnus."<sup>24</sup> True, the smile could be a cynical response, as though from one superior in strength tolerating the weakness of an inferior, for his very sense of superiority could lead to a cynical deprecating smile. The repartee of Turnus is interesting too. He tells Pandarus to join him if he has the courage and he shall find here in Italy another Achilles: "Begin with all thy Valiance, and close hand to hand; here too shalt thou tell that a Priam found his Achilles."<sup>25</sup> We see here a bit of the high esteem in which Turnus held himself. He flatters himself too, for to be like Achilles is to compare himself with the greatest of the great heroes.

There might have been no end of the slaughter in the camp if Mnestheus and Serestus had not finally put their comrades to shame for running from a single enemy. They turn on Turnus,

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23 Ibid., ix, 737-739.

24 Ibid., ix, 740.

25 Ibid., ix, 741-742.

forming an imposing sight as they point a sea of spears at him. Yet even this does not deter him, for twice he turns them to flight by his daring return. It is an enraged and unwilling Turnus that finally plunges into the river to return to his companions. Only the withdrawal of strength by Jove's request to Juno causes him finally to cease.<sup>26</sup> He himself does not know the meaning of the word fear.

The impetuosity and blind rage that drove Turnus on to such heroic fighting against all odds was also a reason for some of his failures. One instance was in the camp when he could have opened the gates and given an entrance to his armies. Instead he drove on against the Trojans, flushed with the success of his offense against them, perhaps not a little inflated with the possibility of conquering them single-handed.

As we return to Turnus on the battlefield of the following day it becomes apparent that in spite of his courageous rally against the Trojans the tide of actual battle is not in his favor. Aeneas has entered the fight, laying low countless valiant fighters. The carnage on both sides is very great. Aeneas has a courageous warrior in Pallas, the son of king Evander. Even though Aeneas has promised to be especially watchful in regard to the much-loved son, Pallas has the ill fortune to meet

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., ix, 780-803.

Turnus in the course of the battle. Turnus claims for himself the encounter with Pallas as he tells the others to stand aside.<sup>27</sup> There is no personal grudge against Pallas in this desire to fight him; it is rather in lieu of a 'traitorous' father that Turnus seeks to inflict punishment on his son. Thus he informs the Arcadians: "Arcadians," he cries, "remember these my words, and bear them to Evander. I send him back his Pallas as was due. All the meed of the tomb, all the solace of sepulture, I give freely. Dearly must he pay his welcome to Aeneas."<sup>28</sup> Pallas has abounding courage but his skill and strength are no match for Turnus. Even though he succeeds in wounding Turnus, something no other warrior does, he meets death himself. This is a dramatic moment of triumph for Turnus. How will he react to it? It would be a mark of hatred to maltreat a fallen foe. Turnus betrays no such disdain for Pallas, rather he shows a chivalrous respect for the boy when he says, all the meed of the tomb, all the solace of sepulture, I give freely. Turnus has inflicted on the son the punishment for what he considers desertion and a traitorous act on the part of the father, Evander, who gave his help to the invader Aeneas.

Whatever prompted Turnus to strip the belt from Pallas

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27 Ibid., x, 441-443.

28 Ibid., x, 491-495.



is not too manifest, except that in his exultation he wanted a token of victory. It is, however, to prove the occasion of his own final undoing, for the sight of the belt will be the impulse that Aeneas needs to cause him to deal out justice rather than mercy to fallen Turnus.<sup>29</sup> Virgil at this point reflects that Turnus' overweening pride and exultation in victory which drive him to such deeds of slaughter will in the end be the reason for his downfall:

Now Turnus exults in spoiling him of it, and rejoices at his prize, Ah spirit of man, ignorant of fate and the allotted future, or to keep bounds when elate with prosperity!--the day will come when Turnus shall desire to have bought Pallas' safety at a great ransom, and curse the spoils of this fatal day.<sup>30</sup>

It should be noticed that even though Virgil indicates the reason for Turnus' future end and does not approve of the excesses he is now indulging in, there seems to be no indication in his words that he even now considers Turnus a barbarian.<sup>31</sup> He rather points out that the man has permitted things to go too far, not keeping his zeal in bounds. Virgil's words would seem to indicate that

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29 See W. Warde Fowler, The Death of Turnus, Oxford, 1927, 155-156 for an interesting discussion of the ill-omened belt of Pallas.

30. Aeneid x, 500-505.

31 Compare this with the opinion of T.J. Haarhoff, Vergil the Universal, Oxford, 1949, 97-99, and the opposite view by Fowler, The Death of Turnus, 155.

the slaughter on the battlefield is taken for granted and somehow justified. For if Virgil means to condemn the slaughter as such he is ipso facto condemning Aeneas, since in the following lines he shows Aeneas killing to left and right with great abandon.<sup>32</sup> What is criticized is the spirit that knows not where to put a halt to its activity.

Pallas' death only serves to enrage Aeneas the more. Driven by the desire to revenge his charge's death Aeneas cuts a path through the milling soldiers as he seeks Turnus. There is little moderation in Aeneas' avenging zeal as the corpses mount up.<sup>33</sup>

In this situation, Juno, ever Turnus' guardian daemon, knows that the end is near for Turnus. She cannot change his fates but hopes to get some postponement of their fulfillment. With this in mind she speaks to mighty Jove. He answers her prayer shrewdly:

If thy prayer for him is delay of present death and respite from his fall, and thou dost understand that I ordain it thus, remove thy Turnus in flight, and snatch him from the fate that is upon him. For so much indulgence there is room. But if any ampler grace mask itself in these thy prayers, and thou drest to move or change the whole issue of the war, idle is the hope thou nursest.<sup>34</sup>

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32 Aeneid x, 510-575.

33 Ibid., x, 525-575.

34 Ibid., x, 622-627.

Thus from the lips of Jove the fate of Turnus is assured.' Only a short reprieve is granted by the Almighty Will, nothing more. Knowing that this is the best she can obtain Juno hurries to protect her charge. Fashioning a phantom likeness of Aeneas Juno gains her end. Turnus sees the phantom; throws a spear at it. The likeness turns about: has Aeneas yielded? Turnus speeds after him, exulting, "quo fugis, Aenea?"<sup>35</sup> As it happened a ship was near upon which the phantom disappeared. Turnus is quick to pursue the phantom aboard the ship only to find the fraud. Juno loosens the ship causing it to sail away. It is then that we see Turnus reveal his deep pride. Not to be able to fight is the worst punishment he could get. Death means nothing to him; glory and honor are what mean most. Shame and disgrace are most terrible to face. Safety from death, which the moving ship now assures, is not a boon, it amounts to a disgrace! So he cries out:

Father omnipotent, was I so guilty in thine eyes, and is this the punishment thou hast ordained? Whither am I borne? whence came I? what flight is this, or in what guise do I return? Shall I look again on the camp or walls of Laurentum? What of that array of men who followed me to arms? whom--oh horrible!--I have abandoned all amid a dreadful death; and now I see the stragglers and catch the groans of those who fall. What am I doing? or how may earth yawn for me deep enough now? Do you rather, O winds, be pitiful, carry me back on rock or reef; it is I, Turnus, who desire and implore you; or drive me on the cruel shoals of the Syrtis, where no Rutulian may follow nor rumour know my name.<sup>36</sup>

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35 Ibid., x, 649.

36 Ibid., x, 668-679.

The whole passage reflects the impatience of Turnus at being thwarted in continuing the fight. He is definitely somewhat self-centered for he dwells too much on the personal shame. There is too, some consideration for his companions who have followed him and whose plight moves him. Perhaps he considers too greatly the indispensable part he himself would play in their success. Maybe it is a reflection again of his unbounded confidence in his own prowess which he ultimately considers as absolutely necessary for them. He seems to have little confidence that his armies can get along without him. However, we must remember that Turnus embodies the heroic ideal of courage and military ambition on a grand scale and so his actions must be judged in terms of this idealism. It becomes clear then, that though there are faults in Turnus as we see him in this passage, the picture in itself is drawn mostly in his favor. The significant point in his favor is the great unwillingness he shows in leaving the combat. It literally took a divine agent to effect his removal. Had Juno not prevented it he would have killed himself, so much does he feel the shame. Against his will, therefore, against even his desire for life, he is carried to the city of his father. There he is an involuntary exile.<sup>37</sup>

Even after exile Turnus is once more on the battle-

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37 Ibid., x, 680-689.

field. But the war goes badly for his forces. When Turnus sees this, and sees that Aeneas and his army are again on the scene, he offers to meet Aeneas in single combat to settle the outcome of the war. Turnus knows that Aeneas is the mightiest of the Trojan warriors, yet is willing to stake all on the duel. It was another indication of the fearless spirit that ruled him. Latinus confirms the daring that prompts Turnus in his generous gesture when he says: "O high in youth and courage, the more thy hot valour abounds, the more intently must I counsel, and weigh fearfully what may befall."<sup>38</sup> We can see in Latinus' words some indication of the odds Turnus would be facing if he fought Aeneas single handed.

There are other indications of how unequally Turnus would be matched against Aeneas. During the actual rites of the covenant that were being performed for this purpose some of the Rutulians think of the inequality:

But long ere this the Rutulians deemed the battle unequal, and their hearts are stirred in changeful motion; and now the more, as they discern nigher...heightened by Turnus, as advancing with noiseless pace he humbly worships at the altar with downcast eye, by his wasted cheeks and the pallor on the youthful frame.<sup>39</sup>

Turnus, it would seem from these words, was no match for Aeneas at this time. He must have realized his own condition too, yet

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., xii, 11-21.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., xii, 216-223.

he is driven more by consideration for his men and even by a certain hatred for the Trojans, as his words coward Aeneadae and the Dardanian who skulks from Asia, referring to Aeneas, would indicate.<sup>40</sup> He therefore resolves upon this course as the best.

Desire though he may to fight Aeneas in single combat, Turnus is denied the opportunity for the present through the interference of his semi-divine sister. Knowing the sympathy of the Italians for Turnus she incites them by referring first to the strength they have over the Trojans, then to the possibility of losing their country to haughty masters, and lastly to the prodigy of the birds driving back the eagle. The covenant is immediately broken by an augur and the war is resumed.<sup>41</sup>

Since Aeneas is wounded immediately by an unknown source he is removed from the battle. Turnus is quick to seize this opportunity to rally his forces. His own courage mounts higher as he hurls foe after foe to death.<sup>41</sup> The prowess of Turnus is everywhere exhibited as he deals havoc over the battlefield. In an effective simile Virgil depicts his whirlwind action:

And as when the Edonian north wind's wrath roars on the deep Aegean, and the wave follows it shoreward; wheresoever

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., xii, 12-15.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., xii, 228-237.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., xii, 324-330.

the blast comes down, the clouds race over the sky; so, wheresoever Turnus cleaves his way, columns retreat and lines turn and run; his own speed bears him on, and his flying plume tosses as his chariot meets the breeze.<sup>43</sup>

The Trojans, without Aeneas, are no match for Turnus so they fall one after another before his ceaseless slaughter. There is a powerful motive driving Turnus as he slays the enemy so exultantly. This motive is reflected in his words:

Behold, thou liest, Trojan, meting out those Hesperian fields thou didst seek in war. Such guerdon is theirs who dare to tempt my sword; thus do they found their city.<sup>44</sup>

There is also a boundless fearlessness reflected in his headlong drive against his foes. If he were not so completely fearless he could not fight with this abandon. In this respect he is given an equal footing with Aeneas:

And as fires kindled dispersedly in a dry forest and rustling laurel thickets, or foaming rivers where they leap swift and loud from high hills, and speed to sea each in his own path of havoc; as fiercely the two, Aeneas and Turnus, dash amid the battle; now, now rath surges within them, and hearts break rather than know defeat; now in all their might they rush upon wounds.<sup>45</sup>

Thus far, Turnus has had ample opportunity to display his prowess in battle; his own fighting powers and his ability to lead others in the fight. There was too, repeated occasion for

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43 Ibid., xii, 365-370.

44 Ibid., xii, 359-361.

45 Ibid., xii, 521-528.

him to reveal the great fearlessness with which he is endowed. In one last episode his fearlessness is most outstanding. It is near the end of his career. Aeneas had already re-entered the fight and is attacking the city. He does so because Turnus keeps at a distance, though it is not Turnus's doing but the interference of Juturna keeping him away. When the news of Amata's death, the burning of the city by Aeneas, and the distracted condition of Latinus are reported to Turnus, he immediately makes up his mind to face Aeneas: "Shall I turn my back, and this land see Turnus a fugitive? Is Death all so bitter?" he asks his sister.<sup>46</sup> Then he adds his resolve: "Now, O my sister, now fate prevails: cease to hinder; let us follow where deity and stern fortune call.. I am resolved to face Aeneas, resolved to bear what bitterness there is in death."<sup>47</sup> Then on arriving near the city, Turnus calls out to his companions; "Forbear now, O Rutulians, and you, Latins, stay your weapons. Whatsoever fortune is left is mine: I singly must expiate the treaty for you all, and make decision with the sword."<sup>48</sup> So Aeneas and Turnus are immediately given room for the struggle. They are, in another of Virgil's vivid similes, likened to two bulls fighting in their

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid., xii, 645-646.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., xii, 676-678.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., xii, 693-695.



rage for the mastery of the herd.<sup>49</sup>

Turnus fights Aeneas with all the prowess and daring of which he is capable. Though his sword breaks he keeps his courage up by taking to flight until Juturna brings him another.

Though Turnus does not fear Aeneas his heart is struck with fear at Jove's portent of the bat flying in his face.<sup>50</sup> It is the unmistakable sign of Jove's displeasure. Juturna knows it and, rending her hair in grief, leaves. Turnus also knows it for "A strange numbing terror unnerves his limbs, his hair thrills up, and the voice in his throat was choked."<sup>51</sup> Turnus now realizes that he is fighting a losing battle. He is abandoned by heaven itself; so he must depend only on his own indomitable courage and fearless strength. The way Turnus faces this most critical of his ordeals speaks much for the mettle of his character. His ability to handle himself in this dark hour is evidenced well by the return he makes to Aeneas' taunt: "Thy fierce words dismay me not, insolent! the gods dismay me, and Jupiter's enmity."<sup>52</sup> Even when he is finally downed by the spear of Aeneas

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49 Ibid., xii, 715-720.

50 Ibid., xii, 859-860.

51 Ibid., xii, 866-868.

52 Ibid., xii, 894-895.

through his thigh Turnus reveals his fearless spirit. He admits defeat and surrenders all; such is but the fate he expects:

I have deserved it, he says, nor do I ask for mercy; use thy fortune.

.....  
Thou art conqueror, and the Ausonians have seen me stretch  
conquered hands. Lavinia is thine in marriage; press not  
hatred farther.<sup>53</sup>

Turnus shows no fear of death in this scene. He does ask for life, though, if Aeneas would pity his father Daunus' old age. However, if life be not granted he only asks the honor of burial by his kin.<sup>54</sup>

Throughout the study thus far made we have noted the numerous times in which the great qualities of Turnus' prowess and fearlessness were manifested. In his physical powers as well as his mental alertness, he was equal to any situation. Every time disaster threatened, Turnus managed to turn the impending rout into a counterattack by the motivation he gave his soldiers. This aspect of his ability shows him a great leader of men as well as a great warrior. These martial qualities, so reminiscent of the Homeric heroes, were given Turnus by Virgil for a definite purpose.<sup>55</sup>

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53 Ibid., xii, 931-935.

54 Ibid., xii, 933-935.

55 See E.L. Highbarger, "The Tragedy of Turnus," Classical Weekly, XLI, January, 1948, 114-124, for a summary of the characters in the Iliad whom Turnus most resembles by his traits.

That purpose will be considered in the last chapter, after we have finished analyzing Virgil's portrait of Turnus in the Aeneid. First we must take up his patriotism.

## CHAPTER III

### TURNUS' PATRIOTISM

In this chapter we will consider Turnus' patriotism. We will seek to answer to the question: Just how patriotic is Turnus as Virgil depicts him in the Aeneid? The fact that Virgilian commentators are somewhat opposed to one another in their views about this aspect of Turnus makes the question somewhat of a controversy. Since it is necessary to treat of the patriotism of Turnus in order to get a complete picture of him, we must deal with this controversial point.<sup>1</sup>

Turnus, as we are informed by Virgil, is the Rutulian King and already given a promise by Latinus of Lavinia his daughter. Such a marriage would make Turnus a legal heir of the realm

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1 The commentators in general take one of two sides in this question. One group sees in Turnus selfishness and disregard for his people since he is fighting only for a personal end. Some of the proponents of this view are: Prescott, 476, "Turnus fights not, as Aeneas, for his people and his future, but, as he is justly reproached with doing, for his own claims; to stir up a war for selfish interests is criminal." Glover, 229, reflects the same view. The other side views Turnus as justified in his opposition to Aeneas: Sellar, for example, 402, "The cause which moves Turnus to resist the Trojans is no unworthy one, whether on patriotic grounds or on grounds personal to himself." Bowra, 44-47, and Haarhoff, 98-100, reflect the same opinion.

of Latinus, since Latinus had been deprived of any male heir of his own. This point is made clear by Virgil.<sup>2</sup> Amata, the spouse of Latinus is very much in favor of the marriage. But then, there is a sudden change of events. Latinus is presented with an oracle which the court-seer interprets as referring to foreigners who are destined to rule Latium.<sup>3</sup> Immediately upon this another omen appears to Latinus. The tresses and robes of his daughter, who was tending the altars, are seen to catch fire. The flames spread throughout the house. This omen, it was prophesied, involved fame for her while portending war to her people.<sup>4</sup> Latinus, alarmed at the prodigies, went to consult the oracle of Faunus. After the proper ritual was performed Latinus received this as an answer:

Seek not, O my child, to unite thy daughter in Latin espousals, nor trust her to the bridal chambers ready to thine hand; foreigners shall come to be thy sons, whose blood shall raise our name to heaven, and the children of whose race shall see, where the circling sun looks on either ocean, all the rolling world swayed beneath their feet.<sup>5</sup>

Thus Latinus, representing the legal power in Latium, is prepared by divine portents and commands to receive the foreigners presented by these portents not as invaders but as benefactors.

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2 Ibid., i.e. Aeneid vii, 50.

3 Ibid., vii, 68-70.

4 Ibid., vii, 74-80.

5 Ibid., vii, 96-101.

So when Aeneas sends a group of one hundred men to him soon after these portents, Latinus is quite willing to believe that they are the foreigners who were to come. He receives them kindly, inquiring about their reasons for coming to Latium. Then he is informed by the Trojan spokesman Ilioneus that they did not come by error but driven by divine command to Latium; they seek only a place to live in peaceful union with the Latin people; and finally, Latinus and his people would not regret such a pact. Latinus ponders the words of Ilioneus in the light of his own recent experiences and the commands of the oracle. He is convinced that the Trojans are the race spoken of by the oracle.<sup>6</sup> Having assured himself on this point, with joy he answers the Trojan envoys: "The gods prosper our undertaking and their own augury! What thou desirest, Trojan, shall be given; nor do I spurn your gifts. While Latinus reigns you shall not lack foison of rich land nor Troy's own wealth."<sup>7</sup> Then Latinus asks that Aeneas also come and says that his daughter Lavinia is to be his destined bride according to the prophecy. He ends by saying: "He it is on whom fate calls; so I deem, so I would have it, if there be any truth in my soul's foreshadowing."<sup>8</sup>

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6 Ibid., vii, 249-258.

7 Ibid., vii, 259-263.

8 Ibid., vii, 264-273.

Did Turnus know anything about the portents just mentioned? Did he know anything about the alliance formed by Latinus and the Trojans and the promise of Lavinia to Aeneas just indicated? Virgil gives one passage which might present some indication that Turnus found out about the oracles:

This his father Faunus' answer and counsel given in the silent night Latinus keeps not within locked lips; but wide-flitting Rumour had already borne it round among the Ausonian cities, when the seed of Laomedon moored their fleet to the grassy slope of the river bank.<sup>9</sup>

It seems from this passage that some news of the portents must have reached Turnus. Just how seriously he may have considered them is a question for which Virgil indicates no obvious answer. This much is clear, however, from the Aeneid: Turnus is given his first explicit news of the landing of Aeneas and the alliance with Latinus by Allecto.<sup>10</sup> The way in which Virgil presents this particular part of the story is worth considering closely, because it undoubtedly holds the key to many questions concerning Turnus and his conduct throughout the rest of the narrative.<sup>11</sup> It must be kept in mind that Allecto has come on a mission of evil, being sent by Juno to stir up trouble. Allecto had already caused queen Amata to burn with frenzy, even to the point

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9 Ibid., vii, 102-105.

10 Ibid., vii, 421-433.

11 See E.K. Rand, The Magical Art of Virgil, Cambridge, Mass., 1931, 375, where he treats of Allecto's influence on Turnus.

of resorting to Bacchic orgies.<sup>12</sup> Allecto comes to Turnus posing as the priestess of Juno's temple, Calybe. In answer to her Turnus says, smilingly, subridens, "the fleets ride on the Tiber wave; that news has not, as thou deemest, escaped mine ears." To which he quickly adds, "Frame not such terrors before me. Neither is Queen Juno forgetful of us."<sup>13</sup> Let it be recalled that Turnus thinks he is talking to Calybe, the old priestess. He tells her that her old age has made her brood over empty cares, that it mocks her prophetic vision with false fears, that her job is to tend her temples, to leave the business of war to men whose province it is to make peace and war.<sup>14</sup> As Virgil presents Turnus thus far, Turnus knows that a fleet has come to the Tiber. When Allecto, as Calybe the priestess of Juno, tells him to smite down the invaders, to protect the Latin race because "omnipotens Saturnia jussit," Turnus calmly accepts the news and reacts indifferently to her urging to war.<sup>15</sup> Allecto becomes infuriated by his uncomplimentary words and reveals her true self. After a raving rejoinder to his mockery of her old age she hurls a fire-brand at his breast which sticks in his heart. This causes him

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12 Ibid., i.e. Aeneid vii, 286-402.

13 Ibid., vii, 436-438.

14 Ibid., vii, 440-444.

15 Ibid., vii, 428.



to rise from his sleep in terror. He rushes about like a madman seeking for arms, athirst for war.<sup>16</sup> At this point Virgil describes the condition of Turnus in a metaphor which throws a good deal of light on how to understand his character at the moment. He likens Turnus' condition to a roaring fire that causes a caldron to boil over sending its vapor unrestrained into the air.<sup>17</sup> If we assume that his sudden rage and mad desire for war is like the boiling water and that the fire-brand of Allecto in his breast is like the fire beneath the caldron driving the fumes ever higher the more it burns, then it seems reasonable to assume that Turnus is not much more to blame for his frenzy than the water is for its condition.<sup>18</sup> This much at least is true, that if the water did not have the capacity for boiling, the fire would have no effect. In the same manner if Turnus did not have a tendency or proneness toward rage and frenzy the fire-brand of Allecto would not have had the effect upon him that it did. If Virgil intended to indicate this truth by the boiling water simile, it would seem that we have hit upon the underlying reason for the frenzy that burns in Turnus' breast as he madly amens

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16 Ibid., vii, 445-458.

17 Ibid., vii, 462-466.

18 Ibid., vii, 463-470. See Rand, 375, for a discussion of Turnus' responsibility after the visitation of Allecto.

calls for war; he already has the inherent tendency toward this frenzy which needs only be aroused. Turnus, without external influence, would undoubtedly be much different, but once affected by the malign influence signified by Allecto and her fire-brand, he is a victim of his own inherent weakness. So, as long as the evil influence continues upon him he will fall under its spell. We can see here that Virgil had a keen understanding of human psychology. He also undoubtedly understood the reality of the devilish influence in human life by which men's passions are fanned to uncontrollable proportions. Amata and Turnus exemplify this insight.

Here we can make the following conclusions from the evidence thus far given/ Turnus may have known from rumor something about a foreign fleet landing in the Tiber. He was not too concerned about any danger to himself or his country up to this point. The visitation of Allecto left him raging for war. What motivation can we advance for the sudden change? I see two possibilities. Either Turnus is overcome by Allecto's hellish power to such an extent that he is unable to gain control over himself and therefore he is in a sense 'possessed', or else her influence upon him is only the initial temptation to rage and war, to which he progressively yields until at last it masters him. If the first is true, Virgil has what amounts to a madman in Turnus for the remainder of his narrative. We can see how utterly incon-

gruous it would be for a madman to represent the Italian resistance to Aeneas. The poem would fall from greatness too, for there would be a vast inequality between the two 'heroes' of the last five books of the Aeneid. It remains then that the influence of Allecto is only a temptation which urges Turnus to the violent acts of war he will perform, though it is a strong, even overwhelming, one. Furthermore, Virgil seems to point to this explanation by giving the simile of the fire and boiling water so closely upon the Allecto incident. Thus it seems reasonable to conclude that Turnus' inherent character trait of violence and all it connotes is aroused and set into action by an external temptation. In this way we have a reasonable motive for the sudden change in Turnus' behavior.<sup>19</sup>

Granted that Allecto was enough to arouse Turnus into action, what motives kept him intent upon war throughout the story? How did he come to assume that it was his responsibility to protect Latium from the foreigner? Turnus had to come to this assumption in an oblique way because he had no legal authority in the matter! Latinus was the official representative of Latium. The answer to these questions will give more insight into the original problem of Turnus' patriotism as well as indicate some-

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<sup>19</sup> See Schoder, 73-76 for an explanation of internal consistency in the portrayal of character, as based on Aristotle's fourth principle found in Poetica, 1454a, 26-28.

thing about his other qualities.

An important point to notice here is that Virgil has been very brief in depicting Turnus' reaction to Allecto's fire-brand and the time that he takes to muster his men to war. Only three lines narrate this tremendous act. The thing is either badly underdeveloped by Virgil or is a stroke of genius on his part. I would rather think the latter. The brevity is in keeping with the explosive reaction that has taken place in Turnus. He is plunged into action at a furious pace immediately upon the reception of Allecto's influence. Such is always the case when great passions are aroused. We can see this vehemence in Turnus' words:

So, in breach of peace, he orders his chiefs to march on king Latinus, and bids prepare for battle, to defend Italy and drive the foe from their borders; himself will suffice for Trojans and Latins together.<sup>20</sup>

In this way Turnus himself becomes an invader under the guise of defending Italy from the Trojan invader. There is an irrational element in Turnus at this point, no doubt, and moral integrity is lessened. But as with every passion aroused, there is also the cooling-off period when rationality returns and moral judgments are again exerted. It is in this later period that we must study Turnus with special attention if we wish to understand the moral nature of his acts and the character behind them.

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<sup>20</sup> Aeneid vii, 467-470.

It is after the incident of Ascanius wounding the deer that we see Turnus again. (From now on his actions should reflect his habitual state of mind because there is no further influence like the Allecto episode.) There was a skirmish over the deer and the citizens carried their dead back to the city. Turnus sees in this outbreak his opportunity to play upon their fears so they will demand war. "Turnus adest medioque in crimine caedis et igni terrorem ingeminat."<sup>21</sup> He adds that the Trojans should be driven out of Italy, since they think that they are called to lord it over the Latins: "Teucros in regna vocari, stirpem admisceri Phrygiam, se limine pelli."<sup>22</sup> When the women who had been affected by the maddened Amata and her Bacchic dance return, they clamor for war. The result is a general consent on the part of the populace to support the war against the Trojans in spite of all the omens and fates.<sup>23</sup> They appeal to King Latinus. He stands adamant in his resolve to support the Trojans. He sees clearly that it is Turnus who has fanned the mad desire of the people for bloodshed. Latinus speaks out boldly reminding them of their terrible mistake: "Alas!" he cries, "we are broken

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21 Ibid., vii, 577-578.

22 Ibid., vii, 578-579.

23 Ibid., vii, 580-585.

by fate and driven helpless in the storm. With your own impious blood will you pay the price of this, O wretched men!"<sup>24</sup> The people will be responsible for their deeds, sacrilego sanguine, as Latinus tells them. However, for Turnus he has stronger words, since Turnus is a leader and should consider counsel before doing rash things: "te Turne, nefas, te triste manebit supplicium, votisque deos venerabere seris."<sup>25</sup> This is a terrible indictment against Turnus, the self-imposed leader of the war-mad Latins, from Latinus the lawful leader who has already pledged peace and union with the Trojans.

Virgil gives no further indications of the motivation that led Turnus to war against the Trojans until the twelfth book. It is during a meeting preliminary to the scheduled hand-to-hand combat with Aeneas when Turnus reveals what may be his main motive for fighting against the Trojans. Latinus urges Turnus to relinquish the fighting and settle peacefully in his father's realm, telling him there are other Italian maids unwed and of noble birth whom he can have.<sup>26</sup> All these overtures do not move Turnus. He will meet Aeneas and fight it out. To the winner will go the

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24 Ibid., vii, 594-596.

25 Ibid., vii, 594-597.

26 Ibid., xii, 18-44.

spoils, namely Lavinia.<sup>27</sup> In the last analysis it is Lavinia for whom Turnus, on his own admission, is staking all.

Now, perhaps, in the light of Turnus' reaction to the foreigners and his adamant desire for war and his resolve to settle the question by single combat, we can reconstruct his thoughts in the following way: First, he heard rumors of Latinus' oracles and guessed something of their consequences to himself and Lavinia. Then he heard about the landing of the Trojans in the Tiber. Up to this point he is not too worried but considers the possibilities that the oracles may be fulfilled in the Trojans. He knows about the Trojan war and its causes as is evident from his remarks later on. This is the incubation period of his thinking. He realizes that if Aeneas stays in Latium, war or no war, Latinus will give Lavinia to him because of the oracles. Thus Turnus sees in Aeneas a competitor for Lavinia. So, for Turnus, there can be no truce with the Trojans. He will lose Lavinia to them. He might also lose some of his land. We know that the loss of Lavinia was finally uppermost in his mind. Then Allecto comes to him in his sleep as the priestess of Juno urging him to fight the invader. She mentions the changing of sceptra colonia, and warns rex tibi conjugium abnegat et quaeritur externus heres

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27 Ibid., xii, 79-80.

in regnum.<sup>28</sup> Then she fixed her fire-brand in his breast. Thus, by a clever and vivid artistic device, in the visitation of Allecto, Virgil has shown the psychological culmination of the ferment of thinking that had been going on in Turnus' mind until it bursts out finally into rage and a sense of indignation and hatred against his enemy.

We can now follow his subsequent actions. Once having given in to the passion for war and the desire to destroy his competitor, the other Trojan Paris, Turnus does not stop to consider the cost of his plan to his followers. Because of his magnetic personality, his prowess and ancestry, he finds it easy to gain followers.<sup>29</sup> Under such conditions Turnus grows in his violence and wrath. He carries all before him. It is later in actual combat when his men are confronted with various omens that Turnus begins to rationalize his conduct. The first instance of this is at the turning of Aeneas' ships into dolphins. We saw above how cleverly Turnus turned the situation to his own benefit.<sup>30</sup> The next instance where Turnus is forced to motivate his followers is when Aeneas lands with the reinforcements from Evan-

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28 Ibid., vii, 422-423.

29 Ibid., vii, 471-474.

30 Ibid., vii, 473-474.



der. No dismay takes hold of his fearless heart as he immediately makes for the shore to meet Aeneas' troops. With fresh vigor and jubilation he urges on his comrades:

What your prayers have sought is given, to break them at the sword's point. The god of battles is in your hands, O men. Now remember each his wife and home: now recall the high deeds of our fathers' honour. Let us challenge meeting at the water's edge, while they waver and their feet yet slip as they disembark. Fortune aids daring.<sup>31</sup>

Here again, as on a former occasion, Turnus shows his ability to inspire daring where trepidation might otherwise fill his men.

Fortune is for the daring, he says, audentis Fortuna iuvat. This motivation is not unlike a more familiar saying "God helps those who help themselves!" An appeal to the deepest instincts of his men is also part of his argument when he tells them to remember their homes, wives, and the glorious deeds of their ancestors. These patriotic motives, to fight for home and country, may have been merely part of Turnus' strategy in order to get the most from his men in loyal service. They may not have been more than a method for gaining his own selfish interests. Such would be the interpretation arrived at if T.R. Glover is correct in his conclusion that "Turnus is heedless of national well-being or divine decree, if, at any cost to anybody and everybody, he can gratify his own wishes."<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid., x, 279-284.

<sup>32</sup> Glover, 229. See also Prescott, 476, for the same opinion.

However, the motivation Turnus offers may be prompted by a sincere conviction that he and his followers are fighting justly for their homes and country. He could well have argued: From all evidence Aeneas and his followers are foreigners, even invaders. They have in fact a not-too-flattering record to recommend them: the Helen incident which precipitated ten years of war. Was not the fact that the gods finally permitted the overthrow of Troy sufficient proof that the Teucrians were an outlaw race? Turnus seemed to be convinced he was justified in such a judgment and was therefore justified also in defending his own rights and those of his people. His own words reveal the conviction he felt that his cause was right:

In no wise am I dismayed by those divine oracles of doom that the Phrygians insolently advance. Fate and Venus are satisfied, in that the Trojans have touched our fruitful Ausonian fields. I too have my destiny against theirs, to put utterly to the sword the guilty nation who have robbed me of my bride; not the sons of Atreus alone feel that pain, nor may Mycenae alone take arms. But to have perished once is enough!33

Some of Virgil's commentators that take this second view express themselves somewhat as Sellar for example, "The cause which moves Turnus to resist the Trojans is no unworthy one, whether on patriotic grounds or on grounds personal to himself. If the Greeks were justified in making war against the Trojans on account of

Helen, the Italians may be justified in making war against the same people on account of Lavinia."<sup>34</sup> C.M. Bowra also thinks Turnus has some right on his side:

He believes, not without some reason, that he is fighting for his country. He calls on his countrymen to see the issues at stake, and there is something of Hector in him when he appeals to the Latin Council: "nunc conjugis esto quisque suae testique memor, nunc magna referte facta, patrum laudes." (10.280-282).<sup>35</sup>

Furthermore, Turnus might well have reasoned: the only claim the Trojans have to our land is in the omens and prophecies that they themselves have spread. Maybe it is all Trojan propaganda. Latinus and his sire Faunus have agreed that the portents Latinus saw referred to Aeneas, but they could be mistaken or even deluded. True, the portent referred to a stranger--but who knows what stranger?--and so at best there is ambiguity. Even Jove makes reference to a possible error in Troy's interpretation of prophecy when he says: "...be he Trojan or Rutulian, I will hold in even poise; whether it be Italy's fate or Trojan infatuation and evil counsel that holds the camp in leaguer."<sup>36</sup>

The line of reasoning just pointed out can, I believe, on the evidence presented, be legitimately attributed to Turnus. It would be in conformity with his actions and also in keeping

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34 Sellar, 402.

35 Bowra, 44-45.

35 Aeneid x, 108-110.

with what we know of human psychology. Men in general will rationalize their motives and behavior, especially when their desires conflict with those of another. In this case the desire of Turnus to eliminate any competitor for Lavinia is in conflict with the desire of Latinus to seek the Trojan as an ally. What more natural reaction for Turnus, in such circumstances and with his turbidly violent, aggressive nature, already aroused by an external agent, than to act as he did! Even after general war seems hopeless as the solution, and he realizes that he is losing the support of his followers, his same stubborn trait, to have all or nothing, is much in evidence when he agrees to accept Aeneas' offer of settling the war by a man-to-man combat.

In view of the preceeding study, let us now formulate an answer to the question: was Turnus patriotic? This much seems evident from the Aeneid: There is no doubt that the personal (or as Glover calls it selfish) consideration of Lavinia is uppermost in his mind when Turnus takes arms against the 'invaders'. There is evidence to show that he must have rationalized himself into a certain state of mind where he could find justification for the war on broader and more patriotic grounds which would appeal to his followers. And finally, there is the clear evidence that Turnus was impelled from the start in his lusting for war by an outside agency which played upon his deep-seated violence, and strong-headed self-assertiveness. Considering the fact that Tur-

nus had no legal right to represent the Italians in resisting Aeneas, granting that he was sincere in considering Aeneas an invader, we can justly find fault with him on the score that he was usurping authority. But in the last analysis we must also remember the part played by Allecto and make allowances for her part in Turnus' motives.

What Virgil may have intended by giving Turnus these qualities, in view of the larger message of the Aeneid, will be considered in the last chapter where we will take up specifically Virgil's purpose in making Turnus as he is.

## CHAPTER IV

### TURNUS IN RELATION TO OTHERS THAN AENEAS

This chapter will be a consideration of the relation of Turnus to other characters in the poem, except Aeneas. The ones we will consider here are those with whom he has the greatest opportunities to manifest his character and motives for action. The relationship to Latinus and Amata will be taken first. Then his relationship to Mezentius, and lastly to Lavinia. From this it should be possible to notice additional facets of the qualities already considered in Turnus, as well as gather some new elements of knowledge about him not treated under any particular trait hitherto studied.

#### Turnus in Relation to Amata and Latinus

Even though Latinus, as king and official representative of his people, gives land to Aeneas and a promise of Lavinia in marriage, Turnus opposes this treaty and stirs up the Latins to fight the Trojans against their king's decree. Turnus had no legal right to do so but since he shared the great favor of Amata and the sympathies of the Latins in general he used these influences to usurp authority.

Latinus gave Turnus stern warning against the impious war into which he helps to urge the Latins: "Thee, O Turnus, thy crime, thee thine awful punishment shall await; too late wilt thou address to heaven thy prayers and supplication."<sup>1</sup> The warning had no effect upon Turnus for he continued on the path of war. Turnus here shows utter blind disregard for the wisdom and prudence of an older man, a man in authority. His own impetuous lust for war has blocked any reversal on his part, as is seen by the way he immediately goes into the fray.<sup>2</sup>

At a later instance when the Latin council has convened to consider making terms of peace with Aeneas and the messengers from Deomedes have taken their negative report into the meeting concerning his willingness to help the Latins, Turnus is still in opposition to any terms that Latinus offers. Latinus addresses the council:

Here now could I wish, O Latins, we had determined our course of state, and it had been better thus; not to meet in council at such a time as now, with the enemy seated before our walls. We wage an ill-timed war, fellow-citizens, with a divine race, invincible, unbroken in battle, who brook not even when conquered to drop the sword. If you had hope in appeal to Aetolian arms, abandon it; though each man's hope is his own, you discern how narrow a path it is.<sup>3</sup>

Latinus continues his speech by proposing to give the Trojans

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1 Ibid., vii, 596-597.

2 Ibid., vii, 601-end.

3 Ibid., xi, 302-310.

land to settle on, or boats if they wish to seek a home elsewhere. The proposal ends with these sage words, "Give counsel openly, and succour our exhausted state."<sup>4</sup> The proposal is fair enough. However, Turnus does not consider it necessary to make any concession to the Trojan. His answer to Latinus before the assembly is undaunted:

Now I return to thee, my lord, and thy weighty resolves. If thou dost repose no further hope in our arms, if all has indeed left us, and one repulse been our utter ruin, and our fortune is beyond recovery, let us plead for peace and stretch forth unarmed hands. Yet ah! had we aught of our wonted manhood, his toil beyond all other is blessed and his spirit eminent, who rather than see it thus, has fallen prone in death and once bitten the ground. But if we have yet resources and any army still unbroken, and cities and peoples of Italy remain for our aid; but if even the Trojans have won their glory at great cost of blood (they too have their deaths, and the storm fell equally on all), why do we shamfully faint even on the threshold? Why does a shudder seize our limbs before the trumpet sound? Often do the Days and the varying change of toiling Time restore prosperity; often Fortune in broken visits makes man her sport and again establishes him. The Aetolian will not help us from Arpi; but Messapus will, and Tolumnius the fortunate and the captains sent by many a nation; nor will fame be scant to follow the flower of Latium and the Laurentine land. Camilla the Volscian princess too is with us, leading her train of cavalry, squadrons splendid in brass. But if I only am claimed by the Teucrians for combat, if that is your pleasure, and I am the barrier to the public good, Victory does not so hate and shun my hands that I should renounce any enterprise for so great a hope. I will meet him in courage, did he outmatch great Achilles and wear arms like his forged by Vulcan's hands.<sup>5</sup>

A close analysis of this rejoinder to Latinus will show several

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4 Ibid., xi, 311-335.

5 Ibid., xi, 410-440.



important qualities of Turnus. /He is a good speech-maker./ He begins by reiterating Latinus' proposal for peace, since no hope of outside help remains. Yet, he cleverly waives the need for that help by insisting that their own valor would be enough, si solitae quicquam virtutis adesset! Then he proceeds to burst the bubble of doubt caused by Latinus' reference to the Trojans as a divine race cum gente deorum. The envoys' report from Diomedes had implied the same idea.<sup>6</sup> Turnus attempts to demolish any superstitious fears these references may have caused in his hearers. He points out the fact that Fortune has often in the past set men up on firm ground after having mocked them earlier. If Fortune did so before, why not again! In winding up the speech he adroitly makes a concession to Latinus: He will fight Aeneas alone if that be the King's will! Just how sincere Turnus was in this final gesture of yielding at least to Latinus' will concerning one point can be judged from his consequent action. At the moment Turnus finished his speech a report came in that the Trojans were marching upon the city since the truce granted for the burial of the dead was over. Immediately there was confusion within the council while the young men called for arms. Turnus seized this golden opportunity to gain his desired purpose: "Yes, citizens!" cries Turnus, seizing his time: "gather in council and

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6 Ibid., xi, 252-294.

sit praising peace, while they rush on dominion in arms!"<sup>7</sup> The action of Turnus at this instance indicates more clearly than anything what were his real intentions. He had made some movement toward a peaceful settlement, at least by saying he would fight Aeneas alone, but it is hard to believe he really meant it. For, if he were sincere he could have called the youth clamoring for arms to attention and stopped the general slaughter. His influence over them was great enough for it. The fact that he did not do so, but instead, aggravated the situation, speaks for itself.

The ensuing battle proves the superiority of the Trojans, and the Latins are near defeat. Turnus finally sees the helplessness of his army. He sees that all are staring at him to make the next move, for they know that a single combat between him and Aeneas would settle the whole war. He realizes this too and sees their mind. The pressure is too great, their silent accusations too loud, so he finally bursts out, "with wrath unappeasable and raises high his spirit."<sup>8</sup> Then he addresses Latinus:

Turnus stops not the way; there is no excuse for the coward Aeneadae to take back their words or renounce their compact. I join battle; bring the holy things, my lord, and swear the treaty. Either this hand shall hurl to hell the

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7 Ibid., xi, 459-461.

8 Ibid., xii, 1-4.

Dardanian who skulks from Asia, and the Latins sit and see my single sword wipe out the nation's reproach; or let him rule his conquest and Lavinia pass to his espousal.<sup>9</sup>

The mood in which Turnus makes this offer is given in the following simile, a powerful and striking portrayal of his rage:

As the lion in Punic fields, his breast heavily wounded by the huntsmen, at last starts into arms, and shakes out the shaggy masses from his exultant neck, and undismayed snaps the brigand's planted weapon, roaring with blood-stained mouth; even so Turnus kindles and swells in passion.<sup>10</sup>

This comparison made with the wounded lion seems to indicate that Turnus has only at this point really begun to feel the full fury of fighting. His fighting spirit has now arrived at such a fever-pitch that it could be compared to a consuming fire out of control. In contrast to Turnus' state of frenzy is Latinus' cool-headed restraint and his reasoned reply:

O high in youth and courage, the more thy hot valour abounds, the more intently must I counsel and weigh fearfully what may befall. Thou has thy father Daunus' realm, hast many towns taken by thine hand, nor is Latinus lacking in gold and goodwill. There are other maidens unwedded in Latium and Laurentine fields, and of no mean birth. Let me unfold this hard saying in all sincerity; and do thou drink it into thy soul. I might not ally my daughter to any of her old wooers; such was the universal oracle of gods and men.<sup>11</sup>

Turnus' reaction to these moving words of Latinus is unyielding:

In no wise do the words bend Turnus' passion: he rages the more fiercely, and sickens of the cure. So soon as he found

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9 Ibid., xii, 11-17.

10 Ibid., xii, 4-10.

11 Ibid., xii, 19-29.

speech he thus made utterance: The care thou hast for me, most gracious lord, for me lay down, I implore thee, and let me purchase honour with death. Our hand too rains weapons, our steel is strong; and our wounds too draw blood. Far from him will be his goddess mother's presence to cover his flight womanlike, in a cloud and an empty phantom's hiding.<sup>12</sup>

That Turnus has by this point reached a state of utter disregard for any counsel Latinus gives him is apparent. If anything, he has 'congealed' in his state of relentless violence. What the Fury had fanned into consciousness earlier was now a dominant attitude of mind and heart. That Turnus listens to nobody who tries to caution him from continuing the stupid war is especially evidenced when even the urgings of Amata fail to move him, as we shall now see.

Amata had shown Turnus much favor, even going so far as to offer Lavinia her daughter to Bacchus rather than let her be given to any other than Turnus. She dreamed of Turnus as her son-in-law and urged his case with Latinus again and again. She was the first to be stricken with the fury of Allecto. She helped fan the craze for war among the women earlier. When the terms of the duel were being discussed between Turnus and Latinus, Amata, for the first time in the Aeneid, is shown face to face with Turnus. She begs Turnus to relent from fighting Aeneas:

But the queen, dismayed by the new terms of battle, wept, and clung in a death-clasp to her fiery son-in-law: "Turnus, by these tears, by Amata's regard, if that touches thee at

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12 Ibid., xii, 45-53.

all--thou art now the one hope, the repose of mine unhappy age; in thine hand is Latinus' honour and empire, on thee is the weight of all our sinking house--one thing I beseech thee; forbear to join battle with the Teucrians. What fate soever awaits thee in the strife thou seekest, it awaits me, Turnus, too: with thee will I leave the hateful light, nor shall my captive eyes see Aeneas my daughter's lord.<sup>13</sup>

Just what Turnus' reaction to Amata's pleas would have been had Lavinia not been present we cannot tell for certain. But to judge from what had already been his dominant mood throughout the conference with Latinus it is likely he would have changed little. But with Lavinia present, we see his temper and wrath grow, not diminish. The reaction is vividly pictured:

Lavinia tearfully heard her mother's words with cheeks all aflame, as deep blushes set her on fire and ran hotly over her face. Even as Indian ivory, if one stain it with sanguine dye, or where white lilies are red, with many a rose amid: such colour came on the maiden's face. Love throws him into tumult, and stays his countenance on the maid: he burns fiercer for arms.<sup>14</sup>

Here again the deep-set motive for Turnus' relentless desire to destroy Aeneas is struck upon. It is his love for Lavinia and the desire to rid himself of the competitor he sees in Aeneas. That this motive is uppermost in his mind is seen at the end of his response to Amata:

Do not, I pray thee, do not weep for me, neither pursue me thus ominously as I go to the stern shock of war. Turnus is not free to put off death. Thou, Idmon, bear my message to

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13 Ibid., xii, 54-63.

14 Ibid., xii, 64-71.

the Phrygian monarch in this harsh wording: So soon as tomorrow's dawn rises in the sky blushing on her crimson wheels, let him not loose Teucrian and Rutulian: let Teucrian arms and Rutulians have rest, and our blood decide the war; on that field let Lavinia be sought in marriage.<sup>15</sup>

These words of Turnus reflect several things about his outlook on life. First, the statement that "Turnus is not free to put off death," would seem to indicate that he had a fatalistic regard for the time of his death. Perhaps a strong belief of this nature is one of the reasons why he is so utterly fearless on the battlefield. For if he will die on the day appointed, then no need to fear anything before that day. And since the day itself is unknown, he can go into every situation fearlessly. Secondly, there is a certain tenderness reflected in his regard for Amata's feelings as the affectionate words o mater would indicate. Yet, in spite of any kindly feelings for Amata, he is still set in his desire for a decisive fight with Aeneas. Finally, his last words reflect the uncompromising spirit that is his, for he would have the question of Lavinia settled by nothing less than the death of one or other of the interested parties. What in the end is the result of Turnus' relation with Amata and Latinus? It is a sad and bitter mood:

The queen...distracted by sudden anguish, shrieks that she is the source of guilt, the spring of ill, and with many a mad utterance of frenzied grief rends her purple attire

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., xii, 72-80.

with dying hands, and ties from a lofty beam the ghastly  
noose of death.<sup>16</sup>

Latinus is dazed by the uncontrolled situation and Amata's death:  
"Latinus goes with torn raiment, in dismay at his wife's doom and  
his city's downfall, defiling his hoary hair with soilure of  
sprinkled dust."<sup>17</sup>

### Turnus in Relation with Mezentius

As was seen in the first chapter regarding the historical background of Turnus, Mezentius was named as one of Turnus' allies. Mezentius is mentioned by Livy and Cato as the king of the Etruscans to whom Turnus turned for help in his fight against Aeneas. Virgil preserves this same relationship of Turnus to Mezentius in his own account in the Aeneid. It is interesting and to our purpose here to notice in detail in what relationship Virgil has placed Turnus to Mezentius, for from the study of this, we can ascertain more fully some facts about Turnus' qualities of character and personality.

Although the accounts of the historians say that Turnus went to Mezentius for help, Virgil found it fit to change this traditional version and make Mezentius rather flee to Turnus for succor. This part of the story is given by Evander to Aeneas:

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16 Ibid., xii, 601-603.

17 Ibid., xii, 609-611.

Thou comest at Fate's call. Not far from here stands fast Agylla city, an ancient pile of stone, where of old the Lydian race, eminent in war, settled on the Etruscan ridges. For many years it flourished, till King Mezentius ruled it with insolent sway and armed terror. Why should I relate the horrible murders, the savage deeds of the monarch? May the gods keep them in store for himself and his line! Nay, he would even link dead bodies to living, fitting hand to hand and face to face (the torture!), and in the oozy foulness and corruption of the dreadful embrace so slay them by a lingering death. But at last his citizens, outwearied by his mad excesses, surround him and his house in arms, cut down his comrades, and hurl fire in his roof. Amid the massacre he escaped to the refuge of Rutulian land and the armed defence of Turnus' friendship. So all Etruria has risen in righteous fury, and in immediate battle claim their king for punishment. Over these thousands will I make thee chief, O Aeneas.<sup>18</sup>

It is easy to see why Virgil made this inversion of the historical account for his own story. By this device he is able to give Aeneas a sizable army (the Etruscans in revolt against a cruel king) and is able to ally Mezentius to Turnus for the dramatic element of the story. That Aeneas will get the Etruscan military help is assured when Evander continues his story by stating that an aged soothsayer restrains the rebellious Etruscans by these words:

O chosen men of Maeonia, flower and strength of many of old time, whom righteous anger urges on the enemy, and Mezentius inflames with just wrath, to no Italian is it permitted to hold this great nation in control: choose foreigners to lead you.<sup>19</sup>

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18 Ibid., viii, 477-496.

19 Ibid., viii, 499-503.



And then, Evander concludes in effect, who more worthy and more acceptable for the task than Aeneas?

Virgil's choice of making Mezentius a close friend and ally of Turnus is more important for the dramatic effect he thus produced. The cause of Turnus is consequently not entirely restricted to his own reasons for fighting; he also has a connection with an exile-king pursued by his people for the purpose of a just retribution for his crimes. By accepting Mezentius Turnus assumes some of the responsibility of his crimes, at least in so far as he protects Mezentius from the lawful payment he owes his people. This action and the fact that he is termed a friend of Mezentius, Turni hospitis, reveals perhaps some of the barbaric strain that is in Turnus. For unless he were inclined to a certain callousness himself, and unless he possessed a latent disregard for law and order, Turnus would not tolerate as a friend a man who embodies these qualities. The fact that Mezentius could come to Turnus after so many crimes confident of being received and protected from his own people's wrath argues strongly to this conclusion.

Mezentius and Turnus have much in common in their characters as can be seen from the way they both fight and especially from the epithets Virgil uses in reference to them. The words asper and acer used of Mezentius have about the same tone as that of audax and violens applied to Turnus. It is also interesting

to note that Mezentius and Turnus both have the ability to smile sardonically (subridens expresses the idea) when they are faced with a trying situation or especially when about to deal a death-blow to an enemy. An example of this in Mezentius' case is his reply to the fallen Oroles who reminds him of his own doom: "Smiling (subridens) thereat half wrathfully, Mezentius: "Now die thou. But of me let the father of gods and king of men take counsel."<sup>20</sup> Turnus had shown the same ability to smile in the face of a challenge, for instance when mighty Pandarus rushed at Turnus locked within the city saying: "Thou seest a hostile camp; escape hence is hopeless." Turnus replies, smiling with untroubled mood: "Begin with all thy valiance, and close hand to hand."<sup>21</sup>

In two instances Mezentius is referred to as a contemner of the gods: "contemptor divum Mezentius," and "contemptorque deum Mezentius."<sup>22</sup> Again, it seems reasonable to conclude that a friendly relationship with a man of this disposition, a contemner of the gods, reflects something uncomplimentary in the character of the man close to him. Since Turnus was so intimately associated with Mezentius we can at least say that Turnus was indifferent enough about the religious beliefs of others to keep a

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., x, 743-744.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., ix, 739-741. Notice especially the words: subridens sedato pectore.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., vii, 648; viii, 7.

friendship with the openly impious.

Perhaps the manner in which both Turnus and Mezentius meet death shows more strikingly than anything else how much their characters had in common. Since the death of Turnus will be treated in the next chapter we will limit the consideration here to Mezentius alone. As Aeneas stands over Mezentius he says:

"Where now is fierce Mezentius and all that wild courage of his?"

Thereto the Tyrrhenian, as he came to himself and gazing up drank the air of heaven: "Bitter foe, why these taunts and menaces of death? Naught forbids my slaughter; neither on such terms came I to battle, nor did my Lausus make treaty for this between me and thee. This one thing I beseech thee, by whatever grace a vanquished enemy may claim: allow my body sepulture. I know I am girt by the bitter hatred of my people. Stay, I implore, their fury, and grant me and my son union in the tomb." So speaks he, and takes the sword in his throat unfalteringly, and the lifeblood spreads in a wave over his armour.<sup>23</sup>

Several of the phrases in this parting speech of Mezentius reflect the same spirit to be seen in Turnus' dying words. Mezentius' "naught forbids my slaughter" is akin to Turnus' "nor do I ask for mercy; use thy fortune." Mezentius' "grant me and my son union in the tomb" is an echo of Turnus' "I pray thee, pity Daunus' old age, restore to my kindred me or my body bereft of day." Mezentius' "neither on such terms came I to battle" is equivalent to Turnus' "I have deserved it." And finally the manner of death

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23 Ibid., x, 898-end.

is quick and abrupt for both: Mezentius "takes the sword in his throat unflinching, and the lifeblood spreads in a wave over his armour," while after Aeneas plunges the sword into his breast, Turnus' "limbs grow slack and chill, and the life with a moan flies indignant into the dark."<sup>24</sup>

### Turnus in Relation with Lavinia

The relationship of Turnus to Lavinia is perhaps the most singular one of this study. This is because so much depends upon it and follows from it. It is also unusual in the fact that Turnus sees Lavinia only once during the unfolding of the story in the last six books of the Aeneid. Of course, it is taken for granted from what has gone before that they had met already and were perhaps well acquainted as Virgil implies: "Many wooed her from wide Latium and all Ausonia. Fairest and foremost of all is Turnus, of long and lordly ancestry, whose union to her daughter the queen-consort urged with wondrous desire."<sup>25</sup> That Turnus must have felt deeply concerning her is evident from what we have already seen of his vehement reaction to Aeneas when he realized that the Trojan was to be her bride-groom according to Latinus' newly formed plans. Turnus had already been promised the hand of Lavinia, "but boding signs from heaven, many and ter-

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24 Ibid., xii, 930-end.

25 Ibid., vii, 54-56.

rible, bar the way."<sup>26</sup>

Turnus was a young man and Lavinia too was very young, though of marriageable age, "jam plenis nubilis annis."<sup>27</sup> This might mean about fifteen or sixteen years of age. Turnus, as we have seen was very good looking, ante alios pulcherrimus; Turnus was a king in his own right; Lavinia was a princess. What more natural thing for Turnus than to develop a deep affection for Lavinia?

Although it is clear enough that Turnus was all wrought up over Lavinia, as is stated explicitly: "illum turbat amor, figitque in virgine voltus," yet it is not very clear how Lavinia felt about him.<sup>28</sup> She is very quiet throughout the whole story, though she is the focal point of the dispute. The only indication of her feelings toward Turnus is found on the occasion of the final parley for the duel between Aeneas and Turnus. Latinus and Amata have just pleaded with Turnus to withdraw from the affair. Lavinia is there when she hears her mother discuss Aeneas and Turnus and she blushes. Virgil has painted a beauti-

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26 Ibid., vii, 58.

27 Ibid., vii, 53. See Dorothea C. Woodworth, "Lavinia, an Interpretation," TAPA, LXI, 1930, 186-187. Her article has some good ideas on Lavinia's purpose in the Aeneid.

28 Aeneid xii, 70.

ful picture of this incident:

Lavinia tearfully heard her mother's words with cheeks all aflame, as deep blushes set her on fire and ran hotly over her face. Even as Indian ivory, if one stain it with sanguine dye, or where white lilies are red with many a rose amid: such colour came on the maiden's face. Love throws him into tumult, and stays his countenance on the maid: he burns fiercer for arms.<sup>29</sup>

Whether Lavinia blushed here because of her love for Turnus or only because of maidenly modesty on mention of her name in connection with that of men, is not sufficiently evident from the text alone. However, the reaction of Turnus to this situation is clear enough, since it throws him into a turmoil. More than that it solidifies his resolve to go through with the duel, even unto death, rather than weaken under the force of the appeals of Latinus and Amata to withdraw. Concerning Lavinia, therefore, Turnus has only one answer to give as his final decision, let "our blood decide the war; on that field let Lavinia be sought in marriage."<sup>30</sup>

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29 Ibid., xii, 64-70.

30 Ibid., xii, 79-80.

## CHAPTER V

### TURNUS IN RELATION TO AENEAS

In this chapter we will consider Turnus in relation to Aeneas. The instances where their mutual interests meet and clash will be singled out for consideration. Such a study should produce a better understanding of the character and personality of Turnus as Virgil depicts him, rounding out as it does the total picture of Turnus. Much of this understanding can be gained by noticing what Turnus thinks of Aeneas. There will be three important divisions of the matter. The first will deal with the basic motive for Turnus' opposition to Aeneas. The second division will analyze the reaction of Turnus to the Fated-home in Latium for Aeneas. In the third division we will consider what Pallas contributed to the relationship between Turnus and Aeneas.

#### Basic Motive for Turnus' Opposition to Aeneas

From the very start of the story Turnus is presented to us as violently opposed to the Trojans' landing in Italy. Even though a settlement and treaty had already been made between Latinus and Aeneas, Turnus revolts against it and "in breach of peace, he orders his chief warriors to march against King Latin-

us, and bids prepare for battle, to defend Italy and drive the foe from their borders; himself will suffice for Trojans and Latins together."<sup>1</sup> At another time, when Turnus sends an envoy to Diomede, he makes a clearer statement of his opposition to Aeneas:

Venulus too is sent to the town of mighty Diomede to seek succour; to instruct him that Teucrians set foot in Latium; that Aeneas in his fleet invades them with the vanquished gods of his home and proclaims himself the King summoned by fate.<sup>2</sup>

It is well to note that in the first instance of Turnus' expression of opposition to the 'invader' he did not mention Aeneas. He exhorts his men to defend Italy. In the second statement of opposition, just given, Aeneas is mentioned as bringing in vanquished gods and proclaiming himself a fate-appointed king. In a further assertion, Turnus reveals a deeper motive for his opposition: "I too have my destiny against theirs, to put utterly to the sword the guilty nation who have robbed me of my bride."<sup>3</sup> Here Turnus mentions Lavinia: my bride. This idea is given repeated emphasis by the many times Turnus later refers to the same subject. From this moment on it is clear that the uppermost motive in Turnus' heart and mind for his opposition to Aeneas and

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1 Ibid., vii, 467-470.

2 Ibid., viii, 9-12.

3 Ibid., ix, 136-137.



the Trojans is Lavinia. On this point their interests clash! The clash means only one thing for Turnus, as was pointed out in the last chapter when treating of Lavinia.

Another instance in which Turnus reveals this motive is when he is presented with a phantom of Aeneas (by Juno, who hopes thus to deceive him and remove him from the battle) and he hurls a spear at it. Deceived into thinking that Aeneas has yielded, since the phantom began to flee, Turnus gave chase. "Whither fliest thou, Aeneas? Forsake not thy plighted bridal chamber. This hand shall give thee the land thou hast sought overseas."<sup>4</sup> Once again, in the reference to the plighted bridal chamber, Turnus reveals the motive that is uppermost in his mind for hating the Trojan and opposing him. There is also a great deal of sarcasm in his words, revealing a deep feeling of antipathy, for something very personal has been threatened by another.

When the Latins have been defeated for a second time, Turnus at last seems moved enough to offer himself for a final contest with Aeneas man-to-man. Even in this instance Turnus reveals the same personal basis of his antipathy for Aeneas: "Either this hand shall hurl to hell the Dardanian who skulks from Asia,...or let him rule his conquest and Lavinia pass to his es-

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., x, 649-650.

pousal."<sup>5</sup> We here see the fury against Aeneas mount higher than ever before. Turnus' reference to Aeneas as the Dardanian, the Asian runaway, is more sarcastic than any previous taunt. It has a direct reference to Paris and the Helen incident. Turnus further shows his contempt for Aeneas as a fighter when he responds to Latinus' appeal to leave off the idea of single-combat by saying: "Far from him will be his goddess mother's presence to cover his flight, womanlike, in a cloud and an empty phantom's hiding."<sup>6</sup> This is no doubt an allusion to the incident in the Iliad when Aeneas was rescued by Aphrodite (Iliad v. 311-324). In this outburst Turnus is again giving vent to his emotions and putting Aeneas in the worst possible light.

We recall that even the appeal of Amata had no great effect upon Turnus to sway his mind from the duel with Aeneas. Turnus, in his answer to Amata gives only one reason for the duel, and we can assume it is his deepest reason: "let our blood decide the war; on that field let Lavinia be sought in marriage."<sup>7</sup> If Turnus previously had sincerely nurtured any less personal motives for his opposition to Aeneas and the Trojans, like fighting

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5 Ibid., xii, 14-16.

6 Ibid., xii, 52-53.

7 Ibid., xii, 79-80.

to prevent his country from falling into a foreigner's hands, it is obvious that by this time such motives have taken a secondary importance. The main reason is succinctly put to Amata: on that field let Lavinia be sought in marriage.

In the soliloquy of Turnus to his mighty spear he spells out more forcibly than before how much he is wrought up over his impending meeting with Aeneas:

Now, O spear that never failed at my call, now the time is come; thee princely Actor once, thee Turnus now wields in his grasp. Grant this strong hand to strike down the effeminate Phrygian, to rend and shatter the corslet, and defile in dust the locks curled with hot iron and wet with myrrh.<sup>8</sup>

From this passage we can see how passionate in his hatred Turnus has become toward Aeneas. He would vent his hatred upon him in the most vicious manner possible, defiling him. And the reference to Aeneas as the effeminate Phrygian is further indication of the bitterness and resentment in Turnus' breast. Virgil adds his own comment at this point: "Thus madly he runs on: sparkles leap out from all his blazing face, and his keen eyes flash fire."<sup>9</sup> Virgil also immediately adds a simile which graphically reveals Turnus' state of mind: "--even as when a bull raises horrid bellowings ere the fight begin, and drives against a tree's trunk to make trial of his angry horns, and buffets the air with

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8 Ibid., xii, 95-100.

9 Ibid., xii, 101-102.

blows or scatters the sand in prelude of battle."<sup>10</sup>

When the duel with Aeneas finally finds Turnus on the ground weak and wounded by Aeneas' javelin he stretches forth his hand in defeat: "I have deserved it," he says, "nor do I ask for mercy; use thy fortune...Thou art conqueror, and the Ausonians have seen me stretch conquered hands. Lavinia is thine in marriage; press not hatred farther."<sup>11</sup> In this final bequest which Turnus makes to the victor, like a man making out his will before death giving someone his most cherished possession, is mentioned the hand of Lavinia. She had been the prize of victory, the prize of defeat. Aeneas got the prize, Turnus paid the price of the loser. Finally, it is interesting to note in this connection that the words of Turnus, press not hatred farther, seem to indicate that he was yielding to the desire to live even without Lavinia.<sup>12</sup> It was up to Aeneas, however, to make the decision of life or death for him. The decision we know; but it was not because of Lavinia but for another cause that Turnus paid the price of his youthful life.

#### Reaction of Turnus to the Fated-Home in Latium for Aeneas

Even before Turnus knew anything about the landing of

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., xii, 103-106.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., xii, 931-938.

<sup>12</sup> Perhaps, also, this is partly a plea not to mutilate his dead body or leave it unburied (the ultimate in cruelty).

Aeneas in Latium, Aeneas had already had directions concerning the will of heaven in regard to him and Italy. It was the express will of Fate that Aeneas go to Latium and there found a new Troy.<sup>13</sup> As was already indicated in the previous chapter, Latinus was also prepared to receive the Trojans by the various portents he witnessed. Turnus had only the mere rumors and other accounts about the situation for his knowledge. It is worth noting that the two parties involved, Aeneas and Latinus, who had the authority and responsibility of their respective peoples, were the ones who received the signs from the gods through omens and prophecies concerning the will of heaven in regard to their people. Turnus, who is an interested enough party, but has no legal part to play in the divine scheme of uniting the Trojans and Latins, is not given any direct knowledge of heaven's will in this matter. He is given a visitation of Allecto for a different reason--to oppose the union of Trojan and Latin. Juno, the relentless foe of the Trojans is the chief instigator of Turnus against the Trojans. Thus, while Aeneas is the chosen instrument of Fate to establish Troy in Italy, Turnus is the chosen instrument of Juno to oppose the Trojans and cause the postponement of the fulfillment of Fate as long as she can, though she knows she cannot ultimately change the decree of Fate.

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13 Ibid., 111, 163-168; vi, 86-94; 111, 94-98.

The reaction of Turnus to Aeneas on this question of founding a home in Latium at the behest of Fate is not so violent as was his reaction in regard to the question of Lavinia. However, this point of conflict is closely allied with the Lavinia question since Aeneas is the object of both interests. It was already pointed out in the first chapter that Turnus' opposition to Aeneas on the score of his being their fated-king was a motive for his own patriotic claims and a rallying point for his followers. Since those considerations were already covered in the earlier part of the thesis it will be enough for our purpose here to dwell more on the reaction of Turnus to Aeneas as the fate-intended settler in Latium. Thus, we see that the effect of Allecto's visitation to Turnus, warning him of the threat of "thy crown conveyed to Dardanian settlers" is to cause Turnus to cry out "defend Italy and drive the foe from their borders."<sup>14</sup> Turnus mentions only the defense of Italy in this initial outburst. It is his most vehement expression on this score. His later statements, as we have already shown, have less and less mention of Italy's defense and consequently less vehemence in connection with it, while there is a growing fierceness of opposition to Aeneas on the subject of Lavinia. This trend can be shown by taking the subsequent instances in which Turnus exhibits his op-

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., vii, 422-470.

position to Aeneas. The first case comes up after the incident of the stag and the skirmish between the Italians and the Trojan youth. During the general outcry Turnus sees his chance to rouse the Latins. He inflames their passion, redoubles their terror by saying: "Teucrians are called to reign; a Phrygian stock mingles its taint; I am spurned from the door!"<sup>15</sup> We can see that this outburst of Turnus against the Trojans is not quite as violent as the first. He does not mention war here. He is only trying to stir up passion and hatred against the invaders. Also, for the first time the more personal motive begins to creep in; I am spurned from the door! We notice that the appeal which Venulus is instructed to make when seeking Diomede's help is based wholly on the claim of Aeneas to be summoned by Fate to take Italy: "Aeneas in his fleet invades them with the vanquished gods of his home, and proclaims himself the King summoned of fate."<sup>16</sup> It is obvious why Turnus would mention only the danger of invasion to Diomede: land rivalry would be a consideration for the Greek, but a reason more personal to Turnus would hardly concern Diomede.

The next instance in which Turnus appeals to his followers for their continued loyalty in fighting the Trojans bases his appeal almost entirely on the personal note: "I too have my

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15 Ibid., vii, 577-579.

16 Ibid., viii, 11-13.

destiny against theirs, to put utterly to the sword the guilty nation who have robbed me of my bride."<sup>17</sup> The next twenty lines go on to expound the meaning of this to his men in terms of personal valor to themselves. In fairness to Turnus, it should be considered that even though the personal motive is uppermost here it is mingled with a kind of noble purpose to deal out justice to a guilty nation, under the leadership of a man who feels it his fate to punish the intruders.

Since the remaining instances which reveal Turnus' reaction to Aeneas run entirely to the personal consideration, i.e., away from the protection of Italy to the protection of Lavinia, they have nothing to contribute to the present topic, and since they have been considered already in the previous section of this chapter, it is unnecessary to reconsider them here. We will therefore take up the subject of Pallas and the Turnus-Aeneas relationship.

#### Pallas and the Turnus-Aeneas Relationship

Pallas does not appear for long in the Aeneid. He is a minor character in that sense. But like Lavinia, he very much concerns Aeneas and especially Turnus. Pallas, the young son of Evander, full of promise for the future, is given to Aeneas by the

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17 Ibid., ix, 136-137.



father as a special token of Evander's affection and hospitality for the Trojan. The old king in his desire to help Aeneas with the war sends Pallas in his own stead. Pallas is also intended by Evander to be a protege of Aeneas:

Thou, to whose years and race alike the fates extend their favour, on whom fortune calls, enter thou in, a leader supreme in bravery over Teucrians and Italians. Mine own Pallas likewise, our hope and comfort, I will send with thee; let him grow used to endure warfare and the stern work of battle under thy teaching, to regard thine actions, and from his earliest years look up to thee.<sup>18</sup>

Thus Pallas is the special charge of Aeneas. The Trojan has the responsibility too of keeping Pallas from danger as much as he can. Anyone would feel that responsibility with a youth entrusted to his care, especially the son of a gracious and generous king like Evander. But the parting prayer and emotion exhibited by Evander must have left a still deeper impression on Aeneas and a resolve to take especial care of the boy. Evander's words are very moving:

But you, O heavenly powers, and thou, Jupiter, Lord and Governor of Heaven, have compassion, I pray, on the Arcadian king, and hear a father's prayers. If your deity and decrees keep my Pallas safe for me, if I live that I may see him and meet him yet, I pray for life; any burden soever I have patience to endure. But if, O Fortune, thou threatenest some dread calamity, now, ah now, may I break off a cruel life, while anxiety still wavers and expectation is in doubt, while thou, dear boy, the one delight of my age, art yet clasped in my embrace: let no bitterer message wound mine ear.<sup>19</sup>

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18 Ibid., viii, 511-517.

19 Ibid., viii, 573-583.

When the king ended he had to be carried swooning to the palace. This scene could not help but leave a lasting memory implanted in the mind and heart of Aeneas.

Later, when Pallas engages in battle and almost comes face to face with Lausus who is an equal match for him, Turnus suddenly intervenes: "It is time," he cried, "to stay from battle. I alone must assail Pallas; to me and none other Pallas is due; I would his father himself were here to see."<sup>20</sup> Turnus is obviously happy for this opportunity to revenge himself on the father by destroying his son. The unfair part of the match is not that Turnus would fight Pallas, since Pallas is on the field of battle taking the chances of a warrior, but that he vents his hatred for the father on the son. However, Pallas is a youth of courage and noble spirit. He is no match for Turnus but says bravely: "For me, my praise shall even now be in the lordly spoils I win, or in illustrious death: my father will bear calmly either lot: away with menaces."<sup>21</sup> Pallas then throws his spear, which grazes Turnus, while the Rutulian monarch throws his with these words: "See thou if our weapon have not a keener point."<sup>22</sup> As Turnus stands over the dying Pallas he utters words

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20 Ibid., x, 441-443.

21 Ibid., x, 449-451.

22 Ibid., x, 481.

which reflect the deep outrage he felt that Evander should, as he considered, betray Italy: "Arcadians," he cries, "remember these my words, and bear them to Evander. I send him back his Pallas as was due. All the meed of the tomb, all the solace of sepulture, I give freely. Dearly must he pay his welcome to Aeneas."<sup>23</sup> Perhaps, it could be argued for Turnus' benefit, that he was sincere in his belief that a 'traitorous' king should be punished, even by the loss of his dear son. Nevertheless, Turnus shows that he is willing to go to any length to even a score.

While still standing over Pallas, Turnus, like so many men who feel the exultation of victory and under its spell do something that may later cause their downfall, in the same mood he "tore away the broad heavy sword-belt...Now Turnus exults in spoiling him of it, and rejoices at his prize."<sup>24</sup> He does not know what the future will bring for him because of that belt, but the author of the Aeneid anticipates his story for us: "Ah spirit of man, ignorant of fate and the allotted future, or to keep bounds when elate with prosperity!--the day will come when Turnus shall desire to have bought Pallas' safety at a great ransom, and curse the spoils of this fatal day."<sup>25</sup> The fulfillment of these

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23 Ibid., x, 491-494.

24 Ibid., x, 496-500.

25 Ibid., x, 501-505.

words comes to Turnus in his duel with Aeneas. Having fallen under the spear of the Trojan he admits Aeneas the victor, the winner of Lavinia, and he asks Aeneas to press not hatred farther. Aeneas stayed his hand "and now and now yet more the speech began to bend him to waver."<sup>26</sup> It seems evident that Aeneas was on the point of sparing his foe, when suddenly, "high on his shoulder appeared the sword-belt...the luckless belt of the boy Pallas, whom Turnus had struck down with mastering wound, and wore on his shoulders the fatal ornament."<sup>27</sup> The belt recalled all the associations of Evander's kindness and young Pallas, so brave, yet unused to war. The growing pity for a fallen foe suddenly changed into wrath in Aeneas: "Mayest thou, clad in the spoils of my dearest, be snatched from me now? Pallas it is, Pallas who strikes the deathblow, and exacts vengeance in thy guilty blood."<sup>28</sup> Thus, Turnus pays the price for his immoderate measures regarding the treatment of Pallas. But, even beyond that, perhaps, it is just to say that he also forfeited his life for the war he promoted.

So far, we have been considering Turnus in the light of his qualities of character and personality as they manifested

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26 Ibid., xii, 939-940.

27 Ibid., xii, 940-944.

28 Ibid., xii, 947-948.

themselves in word and deed, in order to get a concept of him as Virgil depicts him objectively in the Aeneid. There has been no discussion above why Virgil portrayed Turnus as he did. It remains the burden of the sixth chapter to consider this question and come to a conclusion of the role of Turnus in the Aeneid.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE ROLE OF TURNUS IN THE AENEID

The aim of this chapter will be to arrive at an answer to the question: what is the role of Turnus in the Aeneid considered from an artistic viewpoint? It will be necessary first of all to give an account of the effect Virgil hoped to obtain by his total purpose in the Aeneid, before the role of Turnus in achieving this effect can be ascertained as the conclusion of our study. In order, however, to arrive at Virgil's purpose in the poem it will be necessary to have recourse to commentators on the Aeneid, who, as scholars of the poem, have considered this question carefully. Lastly, the arguments for our conclusion as to the role of Turnus in the light of Virgil's total purpose will be based on the study of Turnus made in the previous chapters, with reference at times to commentators who have conflicting views on the interpretation or value of one or other of Turnus' qualities.

Virgil had a twofold aim for the Aeneid as a whole, one personal and one national. His national aim was to write a poem representative and commemorative of Rome and of his own epoch.<sup>1</sup>

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1 Sellar, 310.

A great leader (Augustus), a national need, and a crisis prompted Virgil to exercise his ability as a poet to produce a poem which would serve the needs of his country.<sup>2</sup> He wished to give expression to the national sentiment of unity which followed the victory of Augustus at Actium. There was a great feeling of relief after the world had been freed from the menace of Oriental despotism in the person of Cleopatra and Antony.

Thus, the national aim of the Aeneid was to serve Rome's needs and help Augustus restore the ancient ideals of patriotism, morality, peity, that were fast dying in the pleasure-seeking hearts of people who had gone through almost a century of civil and national wars. So Virgil, under the influence and auspices of the much admired Augustus, did not scruple to make his epic a servant of the state.<sup>3</sup>

The personal aim was to achieve in the Aeneid a work of art rivalling the best that Italy had yet produced and even comparable to Homer's works. His previous success with the production of the Georgics had prepared him well for this task.<sup>4</sup> In commenting on the relative importance of the national and personal

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2 Prescott, 151.

3 Ibid. i.e. 151

4 Sellar, 67; 310. Also Prescott, 151-153.

aim of Virgil Sellar says:

But in undertaking this task he desired to make it subservient to the purpose of producing a work which should emulate the greatest poetical works of the Greeks, and which should, at the same time, be a true symbol of Rome at the zenith of her fortunes.<sup>5</sup>

Sellar also makes a further statement of Virgil's personal aim: "He aspires not only to surpass Ennius and Naevius in the office they fulfilled, but to enter into rivalry with Homer--to perform for the Romans of the Augustan Age a work analogous to that which Homer performed for the Greeks of his age."<sup>6</sup>

In achieving this latter aim Virgil had a tremendous task on his hands, greater even, perhaps, than in attempting to achieve the national purpose of his epic.<sup>7</sup> How well he attained the perfection in his work from an artistic viewpoint is attested to by the countless scholarly works devoted to the subject. Their conclusions generally agree that Virgil is an outstanding master in his art. Here and now, however, we do not intend to discuss the whole conspectus of Virgilian art. Our purpose is to investigate how Turnus fits into the artistic pattern of the Aeneid in order to ascertain his role therein.

Prescinding for the most part from the first six books of the Aeneid, where Turnus is not depicted, our study will be

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5 Sellar, 297-298.

6 Ibid., 299.

7 Prescott, 431-462. Rand, 374-375.



limited almost entirely to the last six. The analysis intended will consist in a negative and a positive approach. The negative consideration can be very briefly dealt with by answering the question: what would the Aeneid be without Turnus? The answer could be very succinctly given by saying that the Aeneid would stop at book six. If it did proceed beyond that point it would by necessity have to be much different than it is. What the difference might be is a speculative question, which, though interesting in itself, would not further the aim of this thesis. The positive side of the question, however, has much to offer. This consideration can also be formulated in a question: What does Turnus contribute to the dramatic effect of the story? The answer to this query will manifest Virgil's artistic working of his materials and point the way to understanding more clearly the role of Turnus in that story.

The positive analysis will follow two main courses. One will consider how the love of Turnus for Lavinia worked as a motive force in Turnus' opposition to Aeneas and was really the thread of continuity for the last six books. This element of love has the effect of creating conflict between Turnus and Aeneas, and therefore, making a drama out of Aeneid seven to twelve. The second line of analysis will treat of the postponement of the death of Turnus until the end which effects a dramatic tension and sustains interest until the duel between him and Aeneas is over.

This element and Turnus' flaw of character embodied in his violencia tend to create a tragic drama out of Aeneid seven to twelve.

Virgil set the stage for the drama that would be created in Aeneid seven to twelve when in the sixth Aeneid the Sibyl prophesied that Aeneas must again behold the rivers Simois and Xanthus, the camp of the Greeks, and confront a second Achilles--in Latium.<sup>8</sup> That Virgil intended to make the element of love a major cause of what was to follow seems clear enough since he invokes the Muse Erato at the outset of the new drama to be unfolded:

Forth now, Erato! and I will unfold who were the kings, what the times, how it was with the state of ancient Latium when first that foreign army drew their fleet ashore on the Ausonian coast, and will recall the preluding of battle. Thou, divine one, instruct thou thy poet. I will tell of grim wars, tell of embattled lines, of kings whom honour drove on death, of the Tyrrhenian forces, all Hesperia enrolled in arms. A greater history opens before me, to a greater work I set my hand.<sup>9</sup>

We will recall, too, that this motif was already anticipated by: "causa mali tanti conjunx iterum hospita Teucris externique iterum thalami."<sup>10</sup> However, in order to have the element of love develop into a dramatic conflict there must be presented an interested party who is confronted with either an actual rival or at least a possible one. Turnus is the interested party in this

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<sup>8</sup> Aeneid vi, 86-94.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., vii, 37-44.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 93-94.

case, for Lavinia is the object of his love, while Aeneas is the possible rival. The rivalry is not actual but only possible at first because Latinus is in the state of deliberation concerning the feasibility of giving Lavinia to Aeneas. We should recall that Amata, who yearned with wondrous passion to unite to her (Lavinia) as son (Turnus), was visited by Allecto who caused her to oppose the king in his designs.<sup>11</sup> Allecto then proceeded to stir Turnus into a realization that "The King denies thee thy bride and the dower thy blood had earned; and a foreigner is sought for heir to the kingdom."<sup>12</sup> In these few deft touches Virgil has accomplished the motif of the ensuing drama.

Having thus opened the dramatic action between the main personages in the sphere of ideas which involve mind and will, Virgil then proceeds to give an external force to this condition which will carry the action along. The external force comes from the chance encounter of Julius with the pet deer. The incident is sufficient provocation to arouse the rustics against the Trojans. Since the uproar ends with a skirmish and the death of a few Latins there is enough animosity aroused to precipitate a war which would then carry the dramatic action along. Yet, even this would be a feeble stimulus at best if left to itself. What is needed to heighten the dramatic tension is a yet greater stimulus, a

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11 Ibid., vii, 341-373.

12 Ibid., vii, 423-424.

greater motive. This Virgil introduces in the person of Turnus. Turnus is the torch that sets the Latins ablaze with his words as he "redoubles the terror, crying that Teucrians are bidden to the kingdom, that a Phrygian race is mingling with theirs, and that he is thrust from their gates."<sup>13</sup> The women, already inflamed by the frenzied Amata, join the uproar: "they too gather together from all sides and shout themselves hoarse for battle. Omens and oracles of gods go down before them, and all clamour for dread war under the malign influence."<sup>14</sup> The only bulwark now remaining against the precipitous turn of events is Latinus. If his influence prevails the forward action may still be slowed or entirely stopped. Virgil's next step must be to remove Latinus from the scene so the action may proceed. Latinus does his best to quell the madness but finally must cry: "Alas!" he cries, "we are broken by fate and driven helpless in the storm." Then Latinus shifts the responsibility for the consequent war upon the people and Turnus: "With your own impious blood you will pay the price of this, O wretched men! Thee, O Turnus, thy crime, thee thine awful punishment shall await; too late wilt thou address to heaven thy prayers and supplication." With this, he "shut himself in the palace, and dropped the reins of state."<sup>15</sup>

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13 Ibid., vii, 578-579.

14 Ibid., vii, 582-584.

15 Ibid., vii, 594-600.

Thus, with the only preventive influence against war removed, the course of the action can advance rapidly and unimpeded. Up to this point Virgil has done a superb work in arranging the details necessary to precipitate a dramatic situation and then set it into a movement capable of carrying itself forward. For, the fury of Turnus against the Trojans, motivated as it is by his passionate love for Lavinia is charged with enough emotional content to carry not only himself, but all his forces as well, into war. There are the other many contributing factors too, which Virgil has very artistically weaved into the scheme, such as the appearance of Allecto to Amata and Turnus, the effect Amata had on the women, the skirmish following the wounded-deer incident, and finally, the opening of the gates of the temple of Janus by Juno when Latinus refused to perform the "abhorred service."<sup>16</sup>

From this point on the dramatic action is carried forward by the mustering of the armies, by the fighting at the Trojan camp, the heated debate in the Latin council, the renewal of war, the final decision of Turnus to settle the war by a duel with Aeneas, and interspersed throughout, the decisions made in heaven concerning the outcome. However, there are incidents intermingled, which, though interesting in themselves, might tend to slow down the dramatic action of the whole and relax interest.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., vii, 601.

Such incidents are the visit of Aeneas to Evander, the Nisus and Euryalus episode, the description of Aeneas' shield, and some of the minor episodes. The element that serves as the thread of continuity for the integration of all these disparate elements into a unity which maintains the dramatic tenor of the action is the passionate love that Turnus manifests for Lavinia. This motive keeps recurring at intervals sufficient enough to sustain interest in the final outcome. It is only when the claim of Turnus for Lavinia is conceded to Aeneas, "Thou art conqueror...Lavinia is thine in marriage," that the drama ends: the conflict is terminated!<sup>17</sup>

The second course of analysis will reveal a tragic element resulting from the disposition and development Virgil made of his material. The first important thing to notice is that Virgil has revised the inherited tradition concerning Turnus. In the historical accounts (related above), Turnus is said to have been killed in an early battle with Aeneas. Virgil saw fit to modify this version for the artistic purpose he had in view, namely, postponing the death of Turnus until the end where it would be the natural terminus of the entire plot.<sup>18</sup> This had to be done in order to create a dramatic tension which would sustain interest

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., xii, 935-938.

<sup>18</sup> Highbarger, "The Tragedy of Turnus," C.W., XLI, 121; Prescott, 431-433; Fowler, The Death of Turnus, 155-156.

throughout the long poem. Furthermore, Virgil added a dynamic element to the character of Turnus, the violentia which when once aroused was capable of producing the actions that initiate the plot of the last six books and is the thread in the series of events which finally lead Turnus to his own destruction. The violentia of Turnus, his flaw of character, is the cause of the headlong course he pursues in spite of warnings and military defeat; it is the impulse that prompts him to commit the blunder that finally results in his own death.<sup>19</sup>

We must now descend into more detail on this subject. Our analysis of the use Virgil made of the character of Turnus and the actions consequent on his specific character traits really resolves itself into a study of the plot of the last six books of the Aeneid. Plot, we will recall, consists in the proper organization of incidents so that they will have the ideal dramatic effect.<sup>20</sup>

We can see the beginning of the plot unfold when Latinus receives the portents forbidding him to permit Lavinia to marry a Latin and revealing the will of heaven that she marry a stranger who is destined to bring great glory to Latium. Another

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19 Prescott, 453-454; Rand, 375-376; Highbarger, "The Tragedy of Turnus", C.W., XLI, 120.

20 See Aristotle, Poetics, 1450a 9, 15; 1450b, 1451a.

portent concerning Lavinia is interpreted as meaning glory for her while boding war for her people.<sup>21</sup> The plot is further developed when Allecto arouses Amata, who protests the pact that Latinus recently made with Aeneas. The final touch for setting the trend of the plot is given when Allecto arouses Turnus to arms against both Latinus and Aeneas.<sup>22</sup> As was already pointed out, Allecto's influence gave an impetus so great that it aroused the deep-set fury of Turnus to such an extent that for the remaining story his actions are produced by this furious nature motivated and nurtured by love for Lavinia. In this way we have actions that proceed naturally from a sufficient cause and therefore the plot can develop naturally out of the action. This is Virgil's way of keeping Turnus true to Aristotle's canon of internal consistency and also keeping him true to type.<sup>23</sup>

The continuation or middle of the plot (which must, according to Aristotle, flow from the beginning) is effected by Turnus calling his warriors to arms and is furthered by the deer incident where Turnus finds an opportunity to convince the Latins that they must fight.<sup>24</sup> Then the effect of Amata on the women

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21 Aeneid vii, 78-80.

22 Ibid., vii, 425-434; 468-471.

23 See Schoder, 45-79.

24 Aeneid vii, 578-579.



accomplished the rest, when "all clamour for dread war under the malign influence."<sup>25</sup> Since Latinus cannot stem the tide of war he makes his people and Turnus responsible for the outcome and withdraws. Turnus now has complete freedom of action and the war that follows is the natural outcome of his actions to this point.

The turning point of the action of the plot, the beginning of the denouement, comes when Jupiter, seeing Alcides' grief over the impending death of Pallas at the hands of Turnus, tells him, "Each has his own appointed day...Turnus too his own fate summons, and his allotted period has reached the goal."<sup>26</sup> Turnus slays Pallas, satisfying his furious desire to revenge himself on Evander by killing his son. In his moment of exaltation he commits the hamartia which will seal his later doom. Virgil makes this clear, both by the previous allusion to Jupiter given above, and now by his own words: "Ah spirit of man, ignorant of fate and the allotted future, or to keep bounds when elate with prosperity!--the day will come when Turnus shall desire to have bought Pallas' safety at a great ransom, and curse the spoils of this fatal day."<sup>27</sup>

After two hard fought battles in which Turnus and his forces have been beaten, a recognition of the possible defeat of

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25 Ibid., vii, 584.

26 Ibid., x, 460-463.

27 Ibid., x, 502-505.

his aims should begin to dawn upon him. But his fury of soul and dauntless courage, urged on by the deep motives he has, keep such enlightenment from his mind. The reversal comes when Venulus gives his report to the Latin Council that Diomedes, upon whom they depended for help, was urging the Latins to join the heaven-fated Trojans in a treaty, not make war upon them!<sup>28</sup> Recognition strikes Latinus, for he is now convinced that Aeneas is called by fate, guided by heaven's clear will, and so proceeds to propose a treaty to the Latin council.<sup>29</sup> Drances then makes a speech to the council in which he reiterates Latinus' proposal. His further suggestions that Turnus meet the foe himself if he desire glory and a royal wife rather than inflict war upon the people, only infuriates Turnus the more. It is evident that Turnus has not been affected by the reversal evident to Latinus, nor has he recognition of the futility of fighting a fate-guided people, as he shows in saying: "Often do the Days and the varying change of toiling Time restore prosperity; often Fortune in broken visits makes man her sport and again establishes him."<sup>30</sup> But in spite of Turnus' blind hope in a change of Fortune the ensuing battle proves that Fortune has left him. When he sees the Latins crush-

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28 Ibid., xi, 252-295.

29 Ibid., xi, 302-335. See Aristotle, Poetics, 1452a, and 1452b for his treatment of Recognition and Reversal.

30 Aeneid xi, 426-427.

ed and faint of heart through war's reverse, his own pledge claimed, and himself the mark of every eye, he blazes with wrath unappeasable and raises high his spirit. He informs Latinus: "Turnus stops not the way...I join battle."<sup>31</sup> Then even though Latinus and Amata urge him to reconsider, to withdraw from the scene and go to his father's home, to let Aeneas have Lavinia while he can have any of many Latin Princesses, Turnus remains adamant in his resolve to either "hurl to hell the Dardanian... or let him rule his conquest and Lavinia pass to his espousal."<sup>32</sup> It is by this insistence of Turnus on a fight to the finish that we are assured of the denouement.

The interference of Juturna and the consequent renewal of the general war only serve to delay the final combat between Aeneas and Turnus and thus heighten our interest. When news of Amata's suicide, Latinus' demented state, and the burning of the town reach Turnus, he is frozen "in horror and stood dumb gazing; together in his heart sweep the vast mingling tides of shame and maddened grief, and love stung to frenzy and resolved valour."<sup>33</sup>

Recognition finally comes to Turnus and he makes his decision:

Now, O my sister, now fate prevails: cease to hinder; let us follow where deity and stern fortune call. I am resolved to face Aeneas, resolved to bear what bitterness there is

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31 Ibid., xii, 1-17.

32 Ibid., xii, 11-13.

33 Ibid., xii, 665-668.

in death; nor shalt thou longer see me shamed, sister of mine. Let me be mad, I pray thee, with this madness before the end.<sup>34</sup>

With this said he goes to meet Aeneas, the Latins and Trojans give way to watch.

Meanwhile, the final scene is prepared in heaven where Jupiter addresses Juno, "What yet shall be the end, O wife? what remains at the last? Aeneas is claimed by Heaven as his country's god, thou thyself knowest and avowest to know, and is lifted by fate to the stars. With what device or in what hope hangest thou chill in cloudland?" In answer, Juno says: "And now I retire, and leave the battle in loathing."<sup>35</sup> Then she asks a final favor of Jove:

This thing I beseech thee, that is bound by no fatal law, for Latium and for the majesty of thy kindred. When now they shall plight peace with prosperous marriages (be it so!), when now they shall join in laws and treaties, bid thou not the native Latins change their name of old, nor become Trojans and take the Teuerian name, or change their language, or alter their attire: let Latium be, let Alban kings endure through ages, let Italian valour be potent in the race of Rome. Troy is fallen; let her and her name lie where they fell.<sup>36</sup>

Jupiter assents to this request. Then he sends the fiend Megaera to recall Juturna from the field and to frighten Turnus. The fiend effected Turnus so that "A strange numbing terror unnerves

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34 Ibid., xii, 676-680.

35 Ibid., xii, 792-818.

36 Ibid., xii, 819-828.

his limbs, his hair thrills up, and the voice in his throat was choked."<sup>37</sup> Turnus now realizes that he is abandoned by heaven as he shows when Aeneas taunts him and he responds: "Thy fierce words dismay me not, insolent! the gods dismay me, and Jupiter's enmity."<sup>38</sup> As Turnus makes a last desperate attempt to throw a huge rock at Aeneas his strength fails. He falls an easy prey to Aeneas' spear. Pinned under the spear, Turnus admits his guilt and his defeat. It is like an act of contrition which demands forgiveness. Aeneas was on the point of yielding to the contrite Turnus, when the sudden notice of Pallas' belt reminded him of Evander's kindness and his own promise to him to guard Pallas. Aeneas could forgive all the other injustices but not this one! The death of Pallas called for a payment of retributive justice. Aeneas makes this clear when he says: "Pallas it is, Pallas who strikes the deathblow, and exacts vengeance in thy guilty blood."<sup>39</sup> As Aeneas buries the sword of justice into Turnus the dramatic action is brought to a close, the tragedy of Turnus is complete.

In concluding the study undertaken in this thesis we can make the following summary: Virgil had to have someone like Tur-

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37 Ibid., xii, 865-866.

38 Ibid., xii, 894-895.

39 Ibid., xii, 948-949.

nus in order to produce the last six books of the Aeneid, for Turnus provides the element of conflict which is so necessary to sustain interest in the story. Virgil gave Turnus certain qualities. These qualities had to provide the opponent of Aeneas with a heroic stature which would be worthy to oppose Aeneas.<sup>40</sup> Such qualities were his noble birth, his physical beauty, his royal status, his prowess and fearlessness in war, and the other qualities of mind and body which are the result of a combination of these. When Aeneas overcomes an opponent possessing these qualities he distinguishes himself more than by overcoming one less formidable.

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40 Rand, 374.

41 When Virgilian commentators make the statement that Turnus is a foil to Aeneas, T.J. Haarhoff does not approve of their statement. He says: "It is hard not to believe that Turnus has been unjustly treated by commentators and writers. For there has been a tendency to regard him as a foil to Aeneas and to imagine that you can praise the Trojan by finding fault with his adversary. To do this, is to belittle both Virgil's dramatic insight as a poet and his imaginative feeling as a man." 96.

There are two points to consider here. (1) If Turnus is a foil to Aeneas is it fair to him? (2) If Turnus is a foil does it belittle Virgil's artistic ability? To solve this let us see what a foil is. The general idea of the foil as used in its figurative sense, is to heighten the attractive qualities of another, to adorn or set off another thing to advantage. As can be seen from these uses there is nothing implied about the quality of the foil which would lead us to believe that the foil itself has to be base or ignoble. The fact is, that in the case of the jeweler, where the foil is used as a backing for gems it is usually a shiny or highly colored metal. The reason is that by the sharp contrast thus provided the gem, whether it be bright or dull in itself, shows to better advantage. When the figure thus taken over from the jewelry trade is used in literature the same idea carries over, though it is the idea of a basis of contrast rather than any one type of contrast that is carried over. We can dis-

Turnus' sense of patriotism, though overshadowed by his love for Lavinia, is a motive for action against the 'invader'. Virgil artfully endows Turnus with these strong motives which continually enkindle his wrath and violence and are in turn the reason for his own destruction. The dauntless spirit of Turnus which refuses to yield in the defeat of battle is broken and falls numb before the enmity of Jove and the decree of Fate that he must fall while Aeneas must win in order that Rome may rise. Thus, it is a strong character that Virgil gives to Turnus, but with the weakness of its strength; for his violence is the faulty side of his strong qualities. It is the violence of his nature, which will not compromise but must have all or none, that drives him to his final duel against superior might. It is the same violence in seeking revenge upon Evander through Pallas that causes justice to force Aeneas to give the death-blow. Finally, it is his violent nature, expressing itself in his scornful treatment of others which indicates a certain hardness in Turnus and which serves to contrast with the humaneness of Aeneas.

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tinguish three types of foil in literature: (1) A vicious character to offset and bring into contrast a noble character; e.g., Iago as a foil to Othello. (2) A noble character to offset and highlight the wickedness of an evil character; e.g., Banquo as a foil to Macbeth. (3) A good character to offset another good character, thereby adding new splendor to the second; e.g., Horatio as a foil to Hamlet. If Mr. Haarhoff has been thinking of the first type, he should not find fault with the third. The third type would not be "unjust to Turnus nor belittle Virgil's art;" consider the examples above given from Shakespeare!

Virgil, by his use of Turnus and the qualities he gave him, has provided the Aeneid with six more books of stirring dramatic action. He has accomplished the production of a tragedy which was the natural outcome of a man's flaw of character but also the price that had to be paid to fulfill the designs of Fate. He has provided Aeneas with a strong opponent whose conquest further embellishes the heroic qualities of the fate-appointed founder of the Roman nation. It is an effective literary device.

If an allegorical interpretation of Turnus was also intended by Virgil, as no doubt it was, then Turnus "typifies the brave but not internecine resistance offered to her [Rome] by the other races of Italy, and is an embodiment of their high and martial spirit--of the 'Itala Virtus' which, when tempered by Roman discipline, gave Rome the strength to fulfill her mission."<sup>42</sup>

By these means did Virgil portray Turnus, by these means did he develop the role of Turnus in the Aeneid.

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<sup>42</sup> Sellar, 402.



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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Henry A. Gardocki, S.J. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Classics.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

January 4, 1952  
Date

William Young, S.J.  
Signature of Adviser